DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 378 834 FL 022 758

AUTHOR	O Riagain, Padraig; O Gliasain, Micheal
TITLE	All-Irish Primary Schools in the Dublin Area. Report of a Sociological and Spatial Study of All-Irish-Medium Schools in the Greater Dublin Area, with Special Reference to Their Impact on Home and Social Network Use of Irish.
INSTITUTION	Linguistics Inst. of Ireland, Dublin.
PUB DATE	79
NOTE	201p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Instituid Teangeolaiochta Eireann, 31 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin 2, Ireland, United Kingdom.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Tests/Evaluation Instruments (160)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Educational Attitudes; Educational Objectives; Elementary Education; *Family Environment; Foreign Countries; Institutional Characteristics; Interpersonal Communication; *Irish; *Language Attitudes; *Language of Instruction; *Language Role; Language Usage; Parent Attitudes; Regional Characteristics; Sociolinguistics; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	Ireland; *Ireland (Dublin)

ABSTRACT

A study investigated the extent to which all-Irish primary schools in the Dublin (Ireland) area: (1) provide opportunities for parents not using Irish at home to send children to an all-Irish school; (2) provide impetus for an increase in Irish use in homes of attending children; (3) increase interaction among Irish-speaking families; (4) are related, by their location, to the distribution of Irish-speakers in the Dublin area; (5) build the level of Irish-speakers in the communities they serve; (6) encourage parents who value all-Irish education to move to an area served by an all-Irish school; and (7) are systematically related to all-Irish preschool and secondary education through the language. The report describes some general characteristics of the all-Irish elementary schools, then summarizes and discusses findings on the reasons given for sending children to them, home use of Irish, and use of Irish outside the home. Some data tables, the survey questionnaire, and maps of all-Irish school family distribution are appended. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 378 834

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Iasdell

O'Dell

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DUBLIN AREA

INSTITIÚID TEANGEOLAÍOCHTA ÉIREANN

ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DUBLIN AREA

REPORT

of a

SOCIOLOGICAL AND SPATIAL STUDY OF ALL-IRISH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS IN THE GREATER DUBLIN AREA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR IMPACT ON HOME AND SOCIAL NETWORK USE OF IRISH

PÁDRAIG Ó RIAGÁIN
MÍCHEÁL Ó GLIASÁIN

Publication No. 16(B)

Price: £2.50

First published: 1979

© Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann

Obtainable from

Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann,
31 Fitzwilliam Place,
Dublin 2.

or through any bookseller

ADMHÁIL SPEISIALTA

Is mian le hInstitiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann buíochas a thabhairt do Bhord na Gaeilge as ucht an chúnaimh airgeadais a chuir siad ar fáil chun an taighde a bhfuil tuarascáil air anseo a chur i gcrích. Tá súil ag an Institiúid go leanfar de chomhoibriú den saghas seo idir í féin agus an Bord agus gurb iomaí tionscadal taighde sochtheangeolaíochta a thiocfaidh as an gcomhoibriú sin san aimsir romhainn.

SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann gratefully acknowledges its indebtedness to Bord na Gaeilge for financial support and assistance provided towards the carrying out of the survey the results of which are reported herein. It is hoped that this will be but the beginning of a long and successful period of co-operation between the Institiúid and the Bord in the field of sociolinguistic studies.

CONTENTS

Chapter		*Page*
	Foreword	1
ONE	Introduction	4
TWO	Some general characteristics of all-Irish primary schools in the Dublin region	14
THREE	Reasons for sending children to an all-Irish school	33
FOUR	Home use of Irish	56
FIVE	Use of Irish outside the home	86
SIX	Summary and Conclusions	121

Appendices

A	Supplementary tables to Chapter Two
B	Supplementary table to Chapter Four
C	English language version of Survey Questionnaire
D	Distribution maps of all-Irish school families, 1976-1977

FOREWORD

The idea for some form of study of the influence of all-Irish medium schools in urban areas was first suggested by Pádraig Ó Riagáin during a discussion with myself as Director of I.T.É. in February, 1976, arising out of our work as members of the Joint Committee which has responsibility for the Committee on Language Attitudes Research documentation in the custody of Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann. The idea was adopted by the Executive Committee of I.T.É. and Mr. Ó Riagáin was asked to formulate specific proposals for a research project to be undertaken by the Institiúid under his direction. Discussions on the matter continued during the summer of 1976, during the course of which Bord na Gaeilge made known its willingness to be involved with I.T.É. in the study.

In September, 1976 the Executive Committee of I.T.É. finally decided to undertake the project, taking responsibility for the salaries of all Institiúid staff engaged in the work and for other internal expenses incurred, while Bord na Gaeilge undertook sponsorship by making a subvention to cover the costs of direction and incidental external costs. A Liaison Committee, representing the Bord and I.T.É., was set up to monitor the project. The membership of the Committee was as follows:

Pádraig Ó Coimín
Hilary Tovey
Seán de Fréine*
Liam Ó Dochartaigh*
Tomás Ó Domhnalláin.

At a later stage in the work Professor Damian Hannan of the E.S.R.I., Riobard Mac Góráin of Gael-Linn and Mícheál Ó Fathaigh of Bord na Gaeilge took part in consultative discussions in regard to the project.

During the course of the earlier meetings the terms of reference for the study were modified to take account of issues that had emerged. As finally formulated the terms of reference were as follows:

---

* Replaced at a later date by Aodh Ó Canainn, Mícheál Grae and Caoimhín Ó hUiginn.

/ ....

"To examine the extent to which all-Irish primary schools in the Dublin area:

(1) provide opportunities for parents who do not use Irish in their homes to send children to an all-Irish school;

(2) provide an impetus for an increase in the use of Irish within the homes of children attending the schools;

(3) increase interaction amongst Irish-speaking families through common interests, common participation in parent-teacher associations, extra-curricular activities etc.;

(4) are, in their locational distribution, related to the distribution of Irish-speakers in the Dublin area;

(5) build up the levels of Irish speakers in the communities they serve through the presence in the area of school leavers;

(6) encourage parents who value all-Irish education for their children to move residence to an area provided with an all-Irish school and thereby decrease their isolation from other Irish-speaking families, and

(7) are systematically related to all-Irish pre-school and post-primary education through Irish".

A preliminary report was presented to the Liaison Committee in January, 1977. A draft report was submitted in October 1977 and the final report in October 1978.

I take this opportunity on behalf of I.T.É. to extend to Bord na Gaeilge our appreciation of their assistance to and support of the project. Our thanks are also due to the members of the Liaison Committee and of the consultative group mentioned above, as well as to the Principals and staff of the schools, the parents who allowed themselves to be interviewed and to many others who helped in various ways. Finally, our special thanks are due to Pádraig Ó Riagáin and Mícheál Ó Gliasáin who expended so much energy on the work.

Tomás Ó Donnallain

1 Márta, 1979

AUTHORS' ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors wish to express their sincere appreciation to the following, without whose help the project would not have been completed.

First of all, we would like to thank the members of the Liaison Committee and those others mentioned above who advised us from time to time. We found their help and encouragement most stimulating and rewarding. Any mistakes or omission are our own responsibility.

At the early stages of the project, the school principals willingly gave us of their precious time and were of the utmost assistance in providing us with essential background information and opinions which were very valuable in planning and orienting the research. We are most grateful to them.

We wish also to record our debt to the interviewing team: Mícheál Tovey, Bairbre O'Connor and Pádraig Ó Séaghdha for their efficiency and good spirits in carrying out a difficult task. Their work was made much lighter, however, by the generous co-operation and interest in the project shown by the respondents themselves: it is to them that we owe our greatest debt and it is our fervent hope that the present report justifies the help they have given us.

Finally, we would like to thank the Director of Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann, Tomás Ó Domhnalláin, for his continued interest and support and for making available to us the resources of the Institiúid, not the least of which were the typing and lay-out skills of Máiréad Uí Ghrádaigh and Monica Nic Cearáin, who were tireless in their efficiency.

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

1.2 Factors that determined the structure of the project

1.2.1 Data requirements

1.2.2 Methodology

1.2.3 Selecting the families for interview

1.3 Outline of the Report

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The Report of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CLAR, 1976) presented a comprehensive description of the Irish public's attitudes towards Irish, its ability in the language and the use made of it in everyday conversation. The general features of the Committee's findings are clear and well substantiated by the supporting research. A considerable majority of the Irish people hold very favourable views about Irish, but only about one quarter of them claim to have enough Irish to take part even in simple conversations. Not surprisingly, therefore, the use of Irish in normal social interaction outside the Gaeltacht was shown to be very low.

Within this overall picture, which was largely based on a sociolinguistic survey of the national population, several important problems emerged with regard to which the Committee's data allowed only tentative conclusions to be drawn. In the present study some of these issues are examined through a survey of the extent to which families with children attending all-Irish primary schools use Irish in family and social contexts. There are a number of reasons for choosing all-Irish schools as the primary focus of the study:

(a) The distribution of Irish-speakers in the population: Whereas about one quarter of the population claimed to have sufficient ability in Irish to manage simple conversations (CLAR p. 129, Table 3.11), about 10% appeared able to handle most conversational situations in Irish. Although this is a small proportion of the population, in a large urban centre like Dublin (approx. one million persons) it represents about 100,000 people which is a sizeable number of competent bilinguals. CLAR, however, in explaining the very low amount of Irish actually used (only 3-4% use it frequently in the home or at work) point to the low probability of such bilinguals meeting with each other. If they were randomly distributed in the population, the theoretical probability of two speakers meeting would be one percent (p. 311). While CLAR acknowledges that the distribution of this 10% is unlikely to be completely random (ibid.), it was not able to establish just how concentrated or dispersed the distribution might be in Dublin or in other urban areas. This aspect of bilingualism is obviously of some importance in explaining the relationship between ability and use, but it would also have implications for

/ ....

language policy. The evolution of the network of all-Irish schools, in particular the location of their catchment areas, could be reasonably expected to provide a clue to the spatial pattern of bilingualism in the Dublin region. (Because of limited resources it was decided to confine the study to Dublin). If the schools, which were 12* in number in 1976, and the approximate 1100 families supporting them were equally present in all areas, then it could be assumed that Irish-speakers were more or less randomly distributed. On the other hand, if the pattern was more variable then it could be held that competent bilinguals were likely to be more concentrated in some types of areas. It therefore appeared a useful issue to explore, but it should be noted that, following CLAR (p. 340) the hypothesis rests on the *assumption* that all-Irish schools are supported mostly or entirely by Irish-speaking families.

(b) Levels of interaction among Irish-speakers: Irrespective of the precise degree of concentration of Irish-speakers, it was clear from a study of patterns of use that many Irish-speakers with both the necessary level of ability and committment find only limited opportunities for meeting other Irish-speakers. CLAR actually recommended that the most effective solution to this problem was to increase the overall number of competent bilinguals, but it recommended (Section 5.12.3.2) that possibilities for improving interaction among Irish-speakers be explored as a secondary line of policy development. In the absence of any evidence of physical concentration of Irish-speakers (i.e. the emergence of Irish-speaking communities) and the noticeable lack of support for Irish language organisations the CLAR Committee were understandably impressed by the recent growth of the all-Irish schools – six of the twelve were established since 1969. It considered that "such schools [i.e. all-Irish schools] not alone serve as instruments for increasing ability levels, they also serve a social function in providing important foci for the families they serve. Given a reasonably wide distribution of strategically placed all-Irish or bilingual schools one might reasonably expect a number of consequences to follow. First, they would build up the levels of Irish speakers in the communities they serve through the presence in the area of school leavers. Secondly, such schools – through common interests, common participation in P.T.A.s and extra-curricular activities, etc. – would considerably increase interaction amongst Irish-

*Three of these schools share the same site in Marlborough St. (a boys' school, a girls' school and a mixed infants school), so they were taken as a single unit for the purpose of this study.

speaking families. Thirdly, they might tempt parents who value all-Irish education for their children to move residence to an area provided with such a school, and, therefore, decrease their isolation". (pp. 339-340).

These "reasonable expectations" of the Committee were not supported by any evidence and must, therefore, be regarded as hypotheses pending reliable validation.

(c) The formation of Irish-speaking families: The CLAR report paid particular attention to the process whereby Irish-speaking families were formed. The low proportion of competent Irish-speakers in the population is again seen to be a major constraint and the Committee noted "that the formation of Irish-speaking families must be based to a considerable extent on sets of parents who are secondary bilinguals and within which there is a large degree of variation in fluency and competence' (p. 214) (Emphasis added). It further noted an association between the attendence of children at an all-Irish school and the emergence of bilingualism in the home (p. 212). The evidence available to the Committee on this point was not strong and there was no suggestion that all Irish-speaking families necessarily send their children to an all-Irish school. But there appeared to be some evidence that these schools drew support from families where one or both parents did not speak Irish. The element of uncertainty in this area, which is of critical importance for the maintenance of the Irish language, justified further research.

(d) Finally, after the commencement of the project, but before it had taken final shape, Bord na Gaeilge asked that the project examine the families' perception of the role (and where appropriate, their use) of all-Irish education at the pre-school and post-primary level. As this topic does not fit into any of the theoretical perspectives discussed above, it was treated as a separate issue.

The study's terms of reference were based on a consideration of the foregoing discussion. It will be clear that while the focus on all-Irish schools gives a unity to the study, a number of different research areas are involved, each one of which could be seen to merit separate treatment. Thus, while the project follows through on several issues raised by CLAR, it would be expecting too much of a small study to resolve all the problems arising in these areas. It is, in most respects, an exploratory study covering a large research area.

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1.2 Factors that determined the Structure of the Project

The terms of reference, which have been discussed in the previous section, provided fairly clear guidelines to the areas to be covered by the project. During the first three or four months of the study, these were examined in the light of previous research. We also interviewed the principals of the schools to obtain some information about each school's operational characteristics i.e. date of origin, size, recent trends in enrolment, nature and extent of catchment area, facilities, and family use of Irish as evidenced by the ability levels of school entrants etc. The research programme emerged from discussions of the import of these bodies of material. As the nature and scope of our conclusions are conditioned by these early considerations, we will set out in the remainder of this section the main features of the project's framework.

1.2.1 Data Requirements

Several parts of the terms of reference require a quantitative socio-linguistic description of all-Irish school families before and after they began sending children to the school. This description would provide a profile, at both stages, of the pattern of bilingualism within and outside the home. Furthermore, considerable variation in these patterns, as suggested by the existing evidence, would have to be accommodated in the survey instruments.

Both the CLAR Report and the interviews with principals indicated that changes in patterns of bilingualism would manifest themselves selectively among the families. The most likely intervening variable was deemed to be ability-levels in Irish but others could also be hypothesised, including variables related to the school's operational pattern. In specifying these variables the project was guided by (a) the theoretical framework of CLAR, particularly where empirically validated and (b) the interviews with the principals of the schools.

While this requirement formed the core of the project's concern, other elements in the brief required information that lay outside this framework:

/ ....

(i) The extent to which families utilised or wished to use all-Irish educational facilities at the pre-school or post-primary level.

(ii) The extent to which the families' residential choices were, or would be dictated by the availability of all-Irish schooling and/or Irish-speaking neighbours.

Following the decision to use a social survey methodology (see 1.2.2 below) the inclusion of these items did not pose any difficulty, beyond the formulation of suitable questions to be asked of interviewees.

Two other items contained in the brief, however, created more serious problems. The first concerned the impact of the schools on their general locality. To explore this would have required a survey of a different population i.e. the zone covered by each school's catchment area. As this was clearly impossible, particularly given the very large catchment areas of some schools, examination of this issue had to be severely restricted. The second element concerned the relationship between the locational framework of the schools and the spatial distribution of "Irish-speakers" within the Dublin region. The problem here is twofold: first, the evidence suggests that the schools do not draw their support only, or mainly, from Irish-speaking families; and secondly, an adequate measure of the regional distribution of Irish-speakers is not, in any case, available. Here again the project had to restrict itself, this time to an examination of the relationship between the locational distribution of families sending their children to all-Irish schools and the information on Irish-speakers contained in the 1971 Census of population.

1.2.2 Methodology

As the project was, in large part, a development of the research undertaken by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research, it seemed desirable to retain the general theoretical and methodological orientation of that report. However, there was some early hesitation before deciding to use, like the Committee, social survey methods to collect the information. Given the absence of clear-cut diaglossic bilingualism outside of the Gaeltacht, the collection and analysis of information about usage patterns had already been shown to be problematical. A case could, therefore, be made for the

/ ....

utilisation of other methods of data-collection (and probably other theoretical frameworks) as a substitute for, or supplement to, social survey methods. In the event this course of action was not adopted for several, mainly practical reasons: time did not allow for the preparation of new techniques for sociolinguistic surveys and the training and experience of the project's researchers lay in the social survey field. Furthermore, the CLAR report had shown that, notwithstanding the methodological difficulties, very useful material could be collected in this fashion.

The main drawback of this methodology, noted also in the CLAR report, is the reliance on self-report. This problem is compounded in the present study in that it relies on the information obtained from one respondent (i.e. the mother) to establish patterns of family bilingualism. To have extended the survey to include the spouse and children would, however, have doubled or trebled the cost of the survey. We return to this problem in the final chapter when making recommendations for further research.

1.2.3 Selecting the families for interview

Because of time and manpower limitations, the extent of inter-school variation in key factors posed particular problems. (The nature and extent of this variation is discussed in Chapter Two). A random sample of all schools would, if inter-school variation were to be examined, require very large numbers to be interviewed. On the other hand, to restrict the survey to one or two schools would make any generalised conclusions impossible. In addition, a sample constructed on either of these bases would create problems (i) in analysing the time factor, (for it would include families ranging from those just beginning to send children to an all-Irish school to those doing so for many years, with, perhaps, other children already attending all-Irish secondary schools) as well as (ii) controlling for different ages, standards, experiences etc. among the children.

For these, and other related reasons, it was decided to narrow the focus of the project to those families whose experience of all-Irish schools was about three or four years, and to seek to interview all such families in every school. (Three years is, of course, an arbitrary figure, but it was felt that any impacts on bilingual patterns would have begun to manifest themselves within this period, if at all). This strategy meant the omission of the long-term attenders and also, by and large, the very recent entrants to the

/ ....

schools. Nevertheless a careful examination of the project's terms of reference will reveal that almost all elements can be explored on this basis, albeit within a restricted time horizon.

In practice, the families to be interviewed were selected in the following manner. First, the class most likely to contain children who commenced attendance approximately three years ago and that which was common to all schools was identified. This proved to be the second standard of the primary school system in 9 of the 10 schools. Secondly, all children within this class with older siblings in the same school were eliminated. This resulted in a total of 126 families whose first child at an all-Irish primary school was currently in second class. It might be noted in passing that the selection of second class as the basic unit for selection moved the median duration of attendance to four years. However, given the inter-school variation in age (two founded in 1975) and the number of classes offered (one commenced with second class, one went no higher than first class) this was unavoidable and it was not felt to invalidate the rationale or the approach.

Four schools posed particular problems and the resolution of these difficulties merits detailed explanation. In the two most recently founded (1975) schools, the maximum possible attendance was two years with one of the schools not providing a second class as yet. To have rigorously insisted on the minimum of three years experience would have eliminated these schools entirely from our survey. Yet because of their recent origin, these schools were deemed to be of particular interest and the longest attending pupils were therefore included. A third school created a different problem. In this case, children do not commence attendance until the beginning of second class, thus the maximum experience possible for second class children within that school was just one year. As this was a well-established school, it would have been possible to interview families with three or four years experience, but their children would have been considerably older than those in the main body of the survey. Here again, it was decided to relax the time factor and retain the common denominator i.e. attendance at second class. Having made these decisions, a similar adjustment was reasonable when a different problem arose with regard to the fourth school. This was a well-established, large suburban school. On

/ ....

examining the lists, only five families emerged as being "eligible" for interview. As this was a large and important school we decided to increase the numbers by including those with similar characteristics in first class.

Hence, with two exceptions out of ten, the families included in the survey were all selected on the same basis i.e. current attendance at Standard Two level by the first child in the family to attend an AIS. But, as has been shown, in the instance of two other schools this approach inevitably produced some variation in the extent of all-Irish school experience among the families. Overall, 60% of the families had been sending children to the schools for three or four years, while 35% were doing so for one or two years. As might be expected three quarters of the latter group were attending the schools noted in the previous paragraph.

This survey was conducted in May and June, 1977. The valid population consisted of 126 mothers, of whom 110 were interviewed. Five mothers refused to be interviewed and eleven were impossible to contact because of changes in address, wrong address, repeated broken appointments or non-contact after repeated calls. This results in a response rate of 87%, which is exceptionally high given their extensive geographical distribution throughout the greater Dublin area and the fact that a quarter of the respondents were working wives at the time of interview.

1.3 Outline of the Report

In Chapter Two some general characteristics of the network of all-Irish primary schools in the Dublin region are examined. This chapter also contains a discussion of some basic characteristics of the families included in the survey. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with a broad outline of the social, demographic and spatial pattern of the schools.

Chapter Three, based entirely on survey findings, describes and analyses the reasons why families send children to all-Irish schools. This analysis is placed against an examination of the parents' general attitude to the Irish language and some related matters.

In Chapter Four, patterns of home bilingualism, before and after children began attending the school, are described and analysed. Changes in these patterns are identified and an attempt is made to establish the extent to which they result from sending children to an all-Irish school.

/ ....

Chapter Five, in rather similar fashion, examines the impact on use of Irish in situations outside the home.

Chapter Six, in conclusion, examines the extent to which the terms of reference have been met by the study and notes some outstanding research issues. The chapter finally discusses some policy implications of the project's findings.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DUBLIN REGION

2.1 Introduction

2.2 All-Irish primary schools in the Dublin region

- 2.2.1 Location, size and date of foundation
- 2.2.2 School facilities
- 2.2.3 Catchment areas
  - 2.2.3.1 Dual membership
  - 2.2.3.2 Clustering
- 2.2.4 Relationship with distribution of Irish speakers

2.3 Main characteristics of the families in the survey

- 2.3.1 Sociodemographic factors
- 2.3.2 Linguistic factors
- 2.3.3 Inter-school variation

2.4 Conclusions

CHAPTER TWO

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DUBLIN REGION

2.1 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter some aspects of the network of all-Irish schools in the Dublin region are examined. Items discussed include the location, size, enrolment trends and facilities of the schools. These sections summarise a more detailed report prepared by Mícheál Ó Gliasáin after he had interviewed the school principals in November/December 1976*; however, the major portion of this part of the chapter is devoted to a study of the catchment areas of the schools.

In the second part of the chapter the main socio-demographic and linguistic characteristics of the families included in the study are described.

Taken together, and allowing for differences in the data sources used, both parts of this chapter combine to suggest very great variation among the all-Irish schools on social, spatial and linguistic criteria. This variation is equally noticeable in the operational characteristics of the schools and in the social and linguistic patterns of the families with children at the various schools.

Differences of the magnitudes described below posed particular problems. The difficulties they created when selecting families for interview have already been noted (Chapter One 1.2). Also, in commenting on the impacts a child's attendance at an all-Irish school have on family and social use of Irish it is continuously necessary to underline the differences between schools. While there are some general consequences resulting from the child's attendance the fluctuations are of equal importance.

But probably the most intractable problem arose within the analysis itself. Families from ten schools were interviewed. To have carried out the analysis for each of the ten schools would have been cumbersome and

---

* This report, prepared as a working paper, will not be published separately as much of the material it contains has been superseded by subsequent work.

/ ....

misleading because the numbers of families interviewed in different schools ranged from 4 to 18 . It was considered necessary, differences notwithstanding, to arrange the schools in three or four groups. At the end of this chapter the manner in which this was accomplished is discussed.

PART A

2.2 All-Irish primary schools in the Dublin region

2.2.1 Location, Size and Date of Foundation: These are three inter-related factors which may be examined with the help of Map A and Table 2.1. Taking location first, it may be noted that six of the schools are on the north side of the city compared with three on the south. Although two of the north city schools could be termed "central city" schools, in practice their catchment areas are mostly (80%) to the north. The remaining school, (Rathcoole – not included on the map) is about 10 miles south west of the city and does not draw much support from the city area. Likewise, whereas the two most recently-founded schools* are both on the south side, only one of these is within the city area. The overall balance, therefore, is currently towards the northside.

Another feature of the pattern emerges when location is considered together with the date of foundation (Table 2.1). The three oldest schools are the central city schools and the inner suburban school in Ranelagh. These were founded in the 1920/30s and the next to be founded (1956) was also in the relatively long-established suburban area of Blackrock/Monkstown/Dun Laoghaire. All of the remaining six schools, founded since 1969, are obviously related to the suburban expansion of the last twenty years.

The locational dimension of the different phases of growth suggests a shift from central city schools towards suburban schools. Recent enrolment trends confirm this. In general terms, all of the older (i.e. pre 1950)

---

* Both of these schools, at Inchicore and Bray, were established in 1977 after the survey had been completed.

/ ....

Table 2.1

Date of foundation and number of pupils and families at each school

(1976/77)

School	Established	No. Pupils	No. Families
1. Scoil Bhríde (Br. Oakley, Ranallach)	1917	200	138
2. Scoil Cholmcille/Mhuire/na Naíonán (Sr. Mhaoilbhríde)	1927-8	250	140
3. Scoil Ullmhúcháin (Cearnóg Pharnell)	1938	105	85
4. Scoil Lorcáin (Cearnóg Eaton, Baile na Manach)	1952	390	207
5. Scoil Neasáin (Br. Mhic Amhlaoibh, Harmonstown)	1969	260	139
6. Scoil Mhoibhí (Br. Moibhí, Glasnaíon)	1972	177	134
7. Scoil Naithí (Meadowbrook, Dúndroma)	1973	130	75
8. Scoil Seachtar Laoch (Br. Ballymun)	1973	145	86
9. Scoil Chrónáin (Rath Cúil)	1975	130	76
10. Scoil Oilibhéar (Baile Bhlainséar)	1975	40	36
Total		1827	1113

/ ....

schools have been declining in numbers for some years whereas all of the newer schools have been increasing their numbers each year since their foundation. However, we did not uncover any significant evidence that this process is the result of families switching from a central city school to a suburban school. Some shifts of this type do occur, but the major reason is undoubtedly the overall growth of Dublin and the resultant consequences for travel and accessibility.

Table 2.1 also indicates the number of pupils attending each school. As can be seen, the totals range from 40 to 390. In interpreting these figures a couple of factors should be borne in mind. Apart from the matters just mentioned, the schools also differ according to the number of classes provided. A "normal" primary school would probably offer eight classes i.e. two infant classes plus standard one through to six. Several of the more recent schools have yet to build up to this scale of operation, while in one of the central city schools pupils are not taken into the school until second class. On average, the suburban schools have larger numbers.

2.2.2 School facilities

Six of the twelve* schools have permanent structures while three of the remainder are completely in prefabricated buildings. All but four of the schools were specifically developed (in either permanent or prefabricated form) as all-Irish schools. However, with regard to the other schools it should be noted that once a school is established it becomes administratively independent, even from parent institutions on the same site. Although none of the schools share teachers or teaching facilities with other schools, two are physically located within the environment of a non-all-Irish school.

The principals were asked to rate their school vis-a-vis other schools in the area with regard to twelve aspects of the school operation. Quite clearly all principals considered their pupil/teacher and pupil/classroom ratios to be very favourable. On the other hand, many all-Irish schools appeared to be at a disadvantage in the provision of school buildings, playground facilities and, not surprisingly, in having access to a reasonable

---

* It should be noted that three of the twelve schools share the same site at Marlborough St.

/ ....

supply of library reading material. On most other matters, e.g. teaching facilities etc. they were reckoned to be, by and large, on a level footing with other schools. Of particular interest, since it could be deemed to affect parent-school relationships, none of the newer schools had a hall.

2.2.3 The catchment areas of all-Irish schools

In the course of the interviews with school principals lists of the addresses of families sending children to the schools in 1976/77 were obtained. This data, when plotted on street maps, provided a measure of the spatial characteristics of each school's catchment area. As can be seen in the discussion that follows, there is considerable variation between schools in this regard and this prompted some hypotheses about the effect of spatial variables on family-school interaction. In addition, information on these maps could be related to other data, e.g. distribution of Irish-speakers as defined in the 1971 census, and thus provide us with a general overview of some characteristics of the school's hinterland. Finally, the maps suggest some interesting questions about the nature and extent of the school networks, although it was not possible to pursue these at any great length.

Because the catchment areas of the schools overlap to a substantial degree, a map showing all the twelve schools together would be confusing. The schools have, therefore, been grouped into three maps and these will be examined in turn.

(a) The outer suburban schools: Map B shows the catchment areas of five of the six schools in this group. The sixth, which is located 10 miles from Dublin at Rathcoole, is not shown, but the main features of its catchment area will be described.

The largest and oldest school on this map is Scoil Lorcáin (Monkstown), drawing support from about 200 families. In addition to the number of families shown this school takes children from another 13 families in the South County Dublin/Bray area just off the southern edge of the map.

The second largest (140 families) is Scoil Neasáin which is positioned in a similar position in the city's northern suburbs. Again, there are an additional 17 families in Portmarnock/Malahide, off the northern edge of the map, sending children here.

/ ....

A noticeable feature of the catchment areas of both these schools is the tendency for them to be biased towards the outer city limits beyond the school. That is to say, both schools draw rather more support from suburbs on the city fringe than from suburbs between them and the city centre. This may provide a clue to the manner in which Scoil Neasáin in particular has been able to build up an extensive catchment area in a relatively short period. Given that most suburbs are naturally orientated towards the city centre, it is easier to command a large catchment area if a school intersects the consequent traffic movements at a point which leaves a substantial area between it and the city fringe. Schools on the extreme city limits may, on the other hand, find their expansion restricted by the volume and pace of development beyond them.

This possibility could be borne in mind when considering the catchment areas of the other three schools shown on the map (Dundrum, Blanchardstown and Ballymun). Apart from their relatively small size, the families sending children to these schools are all located in the immediate locality. While the size of the schools is for the most part related to their recent foundation (post 1970) it is also noticeable that they are located towards the limit of current suburban development. If their pattern of development follows the S. Lorcáin/Neasáin model then it seems reasonable to expect that they will not draw substantial support from suburbs on the city centre side. But as development on the city fringe side is currently limited, expansion to the size of the two earlier schools may be slow.

The final school in this group is at Rathcoole, a rapidly growing dormitory town about halfway between Dublin and Naas. While 32 of the 76 families sending children here reside in or near Rathcoole itself, 16 come from the city suburbs of Clondalkin/Tallaght and 6 come from Naas. The remaining 22 come from intermediate locations, mostly in the Newcastle/ Saggart area. This school would appear to be well placed for further expansion.

(b) The inner suburban schools: The two schools (Ranelagh and Moibhi Road) shown on Map C share many similar characteristics. They are located in roughly identical locations to the south and the north of the city centre. They are almost the same size – 138 and 134 families respectively. Like

/ ....

Scoil Lorcáin and Scoil Neasáin, their catchment areas radiate towards the city limits. However, while the Moibhi Road school's catchment area is restricted by, and overlaps with, other all-Irish schools to the north, south and east, Ranelagh faces competition only on the southern side (from Dundrum). This school has, therefore, a more extensive catchment area, particularly in the south-western sector of the city.

(c) The city-centre schools: Finally, the two city-centre schools are shown in Map D. These are among the oldest schools (founded in the 1920s and 1930s) and they have been declining in size for several years. Currently, however, they still compare favourably with other schools — 140 families at Marlborough St. and 85 at Parnell Square. In former years their catchment area was undoubtedly more compact and clustered closer to the schools. Now they have very dispersed catchment areas, mostly (80%) on the northern side of the city. A comparison with maps B and C shows that their catchment areas overlap with those of other schools, particularly in northern Dublin. This overlapping raises some queries, which we were not able to investigate, about the reasons why some families should choose the longer distances to the city centre rather than the shorter distances to other all-Irish schools. Given the current tendency for these schools to be supported by middle-class areas, it is clear that accessibility difficulties plus the establishment of the suburban schools explains a large part of the decline of these schools.

(d) Some general features of the distribution of all-Irish school families: On Map E we show the distribution of all the families, without distinguishing the school to which they are related. From this map two general features emerge. First, the relative concentration of all-Irish school families on the city's north side is noticeable. Given the location of the schools, this northern concentration incorporates a substantial degree of overlapping in the school catchment areas. Secondly, the south-western sector of the city is, by contrast, relatively under-represented.

2.2.3.1 Dual-Membership

There is a small amount of dual-membership i.e. families sending children to two schools. This usually involves a city-centre school and a suburban school, but it is not widespread. Where it does occur, however, it may provide a clue to the process by which all-Irish schools are founded. In one instance, there are six families sending children to a city-centre

/ ....

school and a recently founded suburban school. This suggests the possibility that the initial founding group may contain parents who have already, at some inconvenience, decided to send children to a distant all-Irish school.

2.2.3.2 Clustering

The maps already give some indication of the degree of clustering in each catchment area. We were able to examine this in more detail by noting the number of streets/roads containing three or more families who send children to an all-Irish school. (See Table 2.2). This is still a crude measure of clustering because (a) some streets are adjacent to other streets with all-Irish families and this is not measured and (b) some streets/roads are much longer than the average. Nonetheless, it does confirm the overall impression provided by the map.

Table 2.2

Number of streets/roads with three or more all-Irish school families

School	Streets/roads with three or more families		TOTAL streets/ roads
	Number	%	
Marlborough St.	-	-	127
Parnell Square	3	4	70
Ranelagh	9	9	101
Monkstown	12	9	136
Raheny	9	9	100
Moibhi Rd.	13	15	84
Ballymun	11	37	30
Dundrum	9	23	39
Blanchardstown	4	23	17
Rathcoole	7	18	40

As the schools are ranked by date of foundation it can be seen that the newer the school the higher the degree of clustering.

2.2.4 Relationship with distribution of Irish-speakers

The maps, which were constructed from the lists of family addresses, can be related to other spatial patterns constructed from the linguistic and

/ ....

social data contained in the 1971 census. This exercise would provide an independent measure of the characteristics of each school's catchment area. The computational work involved is, however, very time consuming and we were obliged to restrict ourselves to an examination of the relationship between the distribution of families and Irish-speakers within the Dublin County Borough area only.

Even here, some further qualifications are necessary. We do not have a reliable study of socio-linguistic patterns in Dublin. The best available linguistic indicator is the census data on the proportions of Irish-speakers in each of the 141 wards. Table 2.3 shows the number and percentage of wards on both the north and south sides of the city by the percentage of Irish-speakers reported in the census.

Table 2.3

Wards of Dublin County Borough by Percentage of Irish-speakers

Percentage Irish-speakers in ward	North City		South City	
	No.	%	No.	%
0 - 9.99	3	4.1	8	11.8
10.0 - 19.99	16	22.0	26	38.3
20.0 - 29.99	24	32.9	18	26.5
30.0 - 39.99	23	31.5	16	23.5
40.0 - 49.99	7	9.6	-	-
	73	100%	68	100%

The overall average for Dublin County Borough is 23.6% and most of the below average areas are in the inner city zones and the south-western sector of the city. Nearly twice the number of the clearly above average wards are on the north city as on the south side. Both these general features suggest a relationship between the location of all-Irish schools and the distribution of Irish-speakers. This relationship is further demonstrated in Table 2.4.

/ ....

Table 2.4

Percentage distribution of all-Irish school families by wards classified by percentage of Irish-speakers

Percentage Irish speakers in ward	North City	South City
0 - 9.99	2%	3%
10.0 - 19.99	10%	7%
20.0 - 29.99	31%	19%
30.0 - 39.99	43%	70%
40.0 - 49.99	14%	-
	100%	100%

Here it can be seen that all-Irish school families are far more likely to come from areas with higher than average ratios of people reporting themselves as Irish-speakers. This tendency is particularly strong on the south side, but only slightly less so on the northern side. This might suggest that the availability of schools is not the only factor determining attendance.

When the pattern in the case of the five schools whose catchment areas are mostly within the County Borough is examined, the same relationship is found. (See Table 2.5). Only one school shows any significant tendency to draw support from areas reporting less than average percentages of Irish-speakers.

Table 2.5

Percentage distribution of families in five all-Irish schools by wards classified by percentage of Irish-speakers

North City

% Irish speakers in ward	Moibhi	Neasán	Parnell Sq.	Sr. Maoilbhríde	Bríde
0 - 9.99	-	-	-	10	-
10.0 - 19.99	-	1	7	24	-
20.0 - 29.99	40	26	27	31	-
30.0 - 39.99	47	52	43	30	-
40.0 - 49.99	12	20	24	5	-
	100	100	100	100	

South City

0 - 9.99	-	-	-	(20)	-
10.0 - 19.99	-	-	(9)	(33)	2
20.0 - 29.99	-	-	(27)	(13)	19
30.0 - 39.99	-	-	(64)	(33)	79
40.0 - 49.99	-	-	-	-	-
			(100)	(100)	100

Note: As already stated, the numbers from the south side attending Parnell Sq./Marlborough St. are quite small. The percentages are, therefore, in brackets.

This discussion lends support to the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the location of all-Irish schools and the spatial distribution of Irish-speakers. It was not possible, for technical reasons, to extend the analysis to include the other schools, but the general information available would suggest a similar relationship.

It is recommended that these overall patterns be investigated further. Not merely does the evidence indicate considerable spatial variation in socio-linguistic patterns, but figures contained in the 1926 census suggest a significant degree of continuity in these patterns. For example, in 1926 the areas of Clontarf, Drumcondra, Glasnevin and Blackrock reported percentages of Irish-speakers nearly twice (13 to 20%) the overall Dublin average (8%). These areas continue to give support to all-Irish schools, and three of the larger schools today are located in or near them.

This general description of the all-Irish schools will be continued in the next part of the chapter, but the discussion will be confined to data resulting from the project's own survey. The findings help to elaborate the pattern described up to this point.

PART B

2.3 Main characteristics of the families who were included in the survey

This section will present a profile of the respondents and their families according to a number of variables, mostly socio-demographic, but also dealing with certain language ability and use patterns among the parents. In the first instance, the general features of the entire group of survey families will be discussed. On occasion, these general distributions will be compared with other surveys, especially CLAR, to establish the extent to which they are typical on these measures. At a later stage, the variation between schools will be discussed. (The detailed tables underlying the following summaries will be found in Appendix A. The tables are numbered A.1 to A.16).

/ ....

2.3.1 Socio-demographic factors

(a) Age: Generally speaking, the respondents are quite young: only 17% have reached the age of 45 while almost a third are under 35 (Table A.1). It seems reasonable to assume that husbands are in the same general age-range. By comparison with the CLAR survey, which interviewed a random sample of all age-groups over 17, the present survey includes only one or two under 30 years of age and an equally small number over fifty. This point should be borne in mind when comparisons are being made between the two surveys.

(b) Number of years married: Forty percent of the respondents were married for only 8 or 9 years while only about a quarter were married as long as 15 years (Table A.2). All of the respondents' husbands were alive at the time of the survey so that all families are two-parent households.

(c) Family size: Just sixty percent of the families had three or four children (23% one or two). (Table A.3).

(d) Family rank of first child to attend an all-Irish school: In two thirds of the families the eldest child was the first to attend an all-Irish school. But for as many as 21% of the families, the first child in the family to attend an all-Irish school was at best the third eldest (Table A.4).

(e) Occupational status of the parents: By comparison with the general Dublin population*, the occupational status of the husbands is very high. On the seven point Hall-Jones Scale of Occupational Prestige, 34 % fit into the two highest classes compared to 17% generally. At the other extreme, only 8% were either semi-skilled or unskilled compared with the greater Dublin average of 23%. Hence, a well above-average proportion of the husbands (65%) are working in Professional/High Administrative, Managerial/ Executive and Inspectional/Supervisory type occupations. Moreover, almost one third of the wives' pre-marriage occupations fell into the same higher status categories and the vast majority of these married husbands in the same class range (Table A.5).

---

* Comparative figures are taken from MacGréil, M.: Prejudice and Tolerance in Ireland. Dublin, 1977. p. 58.

/ ....

(f) Public and private sector occupations: At least 51% of the husbands are government or semi-state employees. Most of the departments and major public bodies are represented. Although the occupations range from Assistant Secretary to labourer, the majority (60%) are in the four highest Hall-Jones status categories. (Table A.6)

(g) Educational level of parents: The overall standard of education of the parents is very high compared with the average for the Dublin population. For example, 33% of the husbands and 17% of the wives have third level education compared with an overall Dublin adult average of 7% (cf. MacGréil op. cit. p. 58). However, the inter-school variation is very significant (Table A.7).

(h) Residential mobility: Sixty eight percent of the respondents have lived at two or more addresses since they were married (Table A.8). As a result, and taking into account the age of respondents, it is not surprising that a similar proportion have lived ten years or less in their present home (Table A.9).

(i) Distance of respondents' residence from the school: This is a factor which varies considerably with the school in question (See section 2.2.3). Overall, a quarter of the respondents live more than three miles from the school, while 37% live within one mile (Table A.10).

(j) Number of years since any child(ren) first attended an all-Irish school: At the time of survey, similar proportions of families had been sending a child to all-Irish school for less than three years (39%) and for longer than three years (46%). Like the distance factor, this variable is highly related to the school in question (Table A.11).

2.3.2 Linguistic Factors

Many of the variables discussed up to this point have been shown by CLAR to effect linguistic ability and use patterns. In order to complete this general survey some linguistic factors will be discussed here, but many of these matters receive more detailed attention elsewhere in the report.

/ ....

(a) Amount of Irish studied by parents while at school: Approximately one fifth of the parents attended all-Irish primary schools while two thirds studied Irish, at most, as a subject only. Of those who received post-primary education, the percentage who attended all-Irish schools was only slightly higher at 25% - 30%* (Table A.12).

(b) Ability in Irish of parents: Respondents were asked to rank their own and their husbands' ability in Irish on a six-point scale which ranged from "No Irish" to "Native speaker ability". As many as forty percent of the respondents and a similar proportion of husbands were estimated by the respondents to be currently at the two highest points of the scale, these figures having increased in each case from a pre-all-Irish school base of about 35%. By contrast, the CLAR report indicated that only 10-11% of the population had this level of ability, while MacGréil's figures for the greater Dublin area report as few as 6% of adults at this level -- i.e. if MacGréil's Fluent/Very fluent are taken as mirroring the Most conversations/ Native Ability measures used here and in the CLAR survey (MacGréil, p. 403). Once again, inter-school variation is substantial (Table A.13).

(c) Use of Irish in the home prior to all-Irish school involvement:

On the basis of the analysis which is described in full in Chapter Four, it would appear that despite high ability levels, only about 15% of the families used substantial amounts of Irish in the home before children began attending the all-Irish school, while three quarters of the families (76%) used very little or no Irish (Table A.14).

(d) Parents' use of Irish at work: One third of the husbands use Irish at work – 10% frequently and 23% occasionally. This compares with a national average of only 13% (CLAR p. 423). Almost half of the 51% of husbands employed in the public sector use Irish at work (18% frequently, 30% occasionally) compared with only 15% of those working in the private sector (Table A.15). One quarter of the wives were working at the time of interview, and more than half of these (mainly teachers) use it at work.

---

* Two thirds of the all-Irish primary and secondary schools attended by the husbands were in Dublin compared with only a third of the all-Irish primary schools and a fifth of the all-Irish secondary schools attended by the wives.

/ ....

(e) Use of Irish in recreation prior to all-Irish school involvement: In the case of half of the couples, neither parent attended activities where Irish was normally used (Table A.16). For another 30% of the couples, both parents had attended such activities previously and in the case of the remaining 20% one of the parents had attended.

2.3.3 Inter-school variation

The profile of the survey families emerging from the previous two sections suggests a fairly homogenous group. The parents tend to be in the younger age-groups; to have settled in their present home relatively recently; to have sent their eldest child first to an all-Irish school; to have higher than average educational levels; to occupy the higher status occupations; to have well above average ability levels in Irish (but not to use it extensively in the home before all-Irish school involvement) and to use Irish, even occasionally, at work. Rather more variation is evident in the distance they live from the school and the duration of their all-Irish school experience. Significantly, the variation in these last two factors can be explained by reference to the specific school attended by the child. When the other variables are also examined by school, the homogeneity of the overall picture begins to disintegrate. Families from ten schools were surveyed. Because the numbers interviewed in the ten schools varied considerably (from 4 to 18) and since ten is a somewhat excessive number of categories for presentation purposes, it was necessary to re-arrange the schools into four groups. The main criteria used in the grouping were location and period of foundation but other criteria were used to assign one or two awkward cases. The groups, with general titles, are as follows:

Group 1 Centre City Schools	This group contains two schools, one in the city centre proper, the other just outside the canal on the south side. Both date from the pre-1930 period and attendance has been falling in recent years.

/ ....

Group 2 North city schools	Two schools, founded in the 1970s, close to each other in the northern sector. Their catchment areas overlap considerably.
Group 3 City fringe schools and one central city school	In terms of numbers interviewed, the dominant schools here are two schools on the north-western and south-western fringes of the city. Both were founded in the mid-1970s. It was decided to assign one of the central city schools to this group because the children had, in common with the other two schools, only one or two years' experience of that all-Irish school. (Children were not accepted here until second class).
Group 4 Other suburban schools	The three schools in this group are all in extensive suburban areas in the south, south east and north-eastern parts of the city.

Because of the grouping itself, and the slight but unavoidable inconsistencies, there is an inevitable blurring of the extent of inter-school variation. Yet, when the summary table below is examined, it can be seen that many important distinguishing characteristics remain between the groups. (More detailed data, including the source of these figures, can be found in Appendix A).

/ ....

Table 2.6

Summary of socio-demographic and linguistic factors BY school group

	School group			
	1	2	3	4
1. Age of respondent (% over 45)	20%	41%	3%	14%
2. Family rank of first AIS* child (% eldest child 1st to attend)	64%	41%	53%	86%
3. Husbands' occupations (% higher status (Hall-Jones 1-3)	57%	32%	43%	67%
4. Educational level of parents (% Leaving Cert. or Higher)	43%	14%	34%	62%
5. Period in present home (% 10 years or more)	40%	54%	27%	21%
6. Distance from school (% more than 3 miles)	33%	-	43%	23%
7. Duration of AIS experience (% two years or less)	27%	23%	97%	12%
8. Irish ability of parents pre-AIS (% with highest levels)	34%	27%	37%	56%
9. Home use of Irish pre-AIS (% using Irish extensively)	7%	5%	7%	23%
10. Past attendance at activities where Irish was used (% respondent and/or spouse attending)	40%	36%	41%	68%

* Here and in following chapters, "all-Irish school" will be frequently referred to by the initials "AIS".

/ ....

From the table it can be seen that in School Group 4° families the husbands hold higher status jobs, the parents are better educated, they have higher ability levels in Irish and use Irish more frequently both in the home and at Irish-using activities outside the home. Furthermore, nearly ninety percent sent their eldest child to an all-Irish school.

Groups 1° and 3° display a similar pattern on most of these measures, somewhat below the levels of Group 4° families. Nonetheless, there are some differences between the two groups. Group 3° families tend to be younger and more recently settled in their present house. But the striking difference is the proportion of Group 3° families (97%) who have only one or two years experience of all-Irish schooling.

Group 2° families contrast with all other groups on nearly all measures. They are older, less mobile, less educated, the husbands occupy less prestigious jobs, they live closer to the school and they have lower ability levels in Irish. Also of significance, they tended not to send their older children to an all-Irish school.

2.4 Conclusions

The main feature of this socio-demographic survey is the extent of variation among the families and between the schools. Notwithstanding the pronounced leaning towards middle-class areas and families, the schools appear to draw support from a very wide range of social and occupational groups. Unfortunately, it was not possible to develop the analysis of the schools' catchment areas to the point where an independently obtained profile of each school's socio-demographic character could be offered. The precise degree to which the survey families are representative of all families in each school cannot, therefore, be established. However, where independent analysis was partially possible (Table 2.5) the results are consistent.

The main conclusion, nonetheless, is the most obvious one. CLAR has already shown that many of the variables discussed in this chapter can be expected to affect attitudes, abilities and use patterns of Irish. As the inter-school variation is pronounced, it would be unreasonable to expect a child's attendance at an all-Irish school to produce similar results in all cases.

CHAPTER THREE – REASONS FOR SENDING CHILDREN TO AN ALL-IRISH SCHOOL

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Some general attitudinal patterns among parents

- 3.2.1 Attitudes towards the Irish language
- 3.2.2 Attitudes towards all-Irish education
- 3.2.3 Attitudes to rearing children at home through Irish
- 3.2.4 Relationships between general attitudinal patterns.

3.3 Reasons for sending children to an all-Irish school

- 3.3.1 Selecting the particular all-Irish school
- 3.3.2 Reasons for previously sending a child to a non-all-Irish school
- 3.3.3 Degree of satisfaction with all-Irish education
- 3.3.4 Future decisions about all-Irish schooling
- 3.3.5 Future residential moves and all-Irish schooling
- 3.3.6 Variation between schools

3.4 Factors associated with variations in the reasons given by respondents for sending children to an all-Irish school

- 3.4.1 Age of respondent and rank of first child to attend an all-Irish school
- 3.4.2 Husband's occupational status
- 3.4.3 Parents' ability in Irish
- 3.4.4 Home use of Irish before all-Irish school involvement
- 3.4.5 Attendance by parents at activities where Irish was used
- 3.4.6 Distance of respondents' residence from the school
- 3.4.7 Duration of all-Irish school involvement

3.5 Explaining variation in reasons for sending children to all-Irish schools

3.6 Conclusions

CHAPTER THREE – REASONS FOR SENDING CHILDREN TO AN ALL-IRISH SCHOOL

3.1 Introduction

A number of separate, but closely related matters, will be discussed in this chapter. First, we examine some general attitudinal patterns towards the Irish language, all-Irish education and home use of Irish. Secondly, some aspects of the circumstances attending the decision to send a child to an all-Irish school are discussed. These include questions about the child's previous attendance at a non-all-Irish school, the decision to send him to an all-Irish one, and the parents' attitude to future decisions about primary and post-primary education for their children. Thirdly, the degree of satisfaction with the all-Irish school is discussed, together with an examination of the extent to which the experience of all-Irish schooling might influence future residential choices. Finally, and for our purposes most importantly, we examine at some length the reasons given by parents for sending children to an all-Irish school.

The first part of the chapter contains an overview of the items outlined above. In the second half of the chapter we examine the relationships between a number of social, demographic, spatial and linguistic factors and the reasons offered by parents for supporting all-Irish schools.

3.2 Some general attitudinal patterns among parents

3.2.1 Attitudes towards the Irish language generally

Respondents were asked to indicate (on a five-point scale) their attitudes to the Irish language at four stages in their life – when at school, before meeting husband, before child attended all-Irish school and at present. For the last two stages the respondent was also asked to estimate the husband's attitude.

/ ....

Table 3.1

Respondents' attitudes towards Irish

	At school	Before meeting husband	Before child at AIS	Now
Strongly in favour	26%	43%	45%	72%
Somewhat in favour	24%	21%	31%	19%
No particular feelings	36%	33%	22%	9%
Somewhat opposed	8%	3%	1%	-
Strongly opposed	6%	-	1%	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

For clarity, the respondents' estimates of their husbands' attitudes at the last two stages have been omitted as the patterns for both groups are almost identical.

Two features of this table deserve comment. First, when compared with the national pattern as reported by CLAR (p. 32), it is clear that the all-Irish school families are extremely favourably disposed towards Irish. In the Committee's National Survey only 19% were reported as strongly in favour of Irish, compared to 72% in the present survey – more than a threefold difference. For the "at school" stage, the figures are 13% and 26% – a twofold difference. The second feature is the degree of change in attitude since all-Irish school involvement – from 45% to 72%. While the families were already more highly favourable than average, their experience of an all-Irish school has increased that support by a further 50%.

3.2.2 Attitudes towards all-Irish education

Respondents were similarly asked for their attitudes towards children having all-Irish education. As the husbands' reported attitudes are again almost identical they are omitted from the table.

/ ....

Table 3.2

Respondents' attitudes towards children having all-Irish education

	Before meeting husband	Before child at AIS	Now
Strongly in favour	21%	35%	67%
Somewhat in favour	9%	31%	22%
No particular feelings	62%	25%	6%
Somewhat opposed	4%	6%	5%
Strongly opposed	4%	4%	-
Total	100%	100%	100%

As can be seen, there is currently the same high level of support for all-Irish education as for the Irish language generally. However, the table reveals some points of interest in other respects. It would appear that the respondents, although highly favourable towards Irish before marriage, were at that stage relatively unconcerned about the issue of all-Irish education. This may of course, be no more than a reflection of the lack of interest of single people in matters relating to children. The other point is more pertinent. Given that these respondents are all parents who have decided to send their children to an all-Irish school, it is surprising that 22% should report themselves as only somewhat in favour of all-Irish education and a further 11% have no particular feelings or are opposed to the idea. This feature is only partly explained by the hypothesis that these respondents are married to husbands with higher attitudinal dispositions. A more convincing hypothesis, which will be explored at length later, is that about one third of the families send children to all-Irish schools for reasons that are not strongly related to the Irish language.

3.2.3 Attitudes to rearing children at home through Irish

The final question of this set asked respondents for their attitudes towards rearing children at home through Irish.

/ ....

Table 3.3

Respondents' attitudes to rearing their own children through Irish in the home

	Before meeting husband	Before child at AIS	Now
Strongly in favour	14%	21%	38%
Somewhat in favour	14%	36%	37%
No particular feelings	66%	37%	20%
Somewhat opposed	4%	5%	4%
Strongly opposed	2%	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Although the general pattern of this table is similar to the two previous tables, it is noticeable that the degree of support for home bilingualism is considerably lower. Whereas about 70% of the respondents are strongly in favour of both the Irish language and all-Irish education only 38% are as well disposed to the idea of an all-Irish home. Those strongly supporting this item tend to be parents where both parents have high ability in Irish and where all the school-age children attend an all-Irish school. Conversely, those who are reluctant to commit themselves strongly on the issue of home bilingualism tend to be families where at least one of the parents has low ability in Irish and/or some older children do not and have not, attended an all-Irish school.

Whatever the explanatory factors, however, it is clear that for a large number of families, possibly the majority, the decision to send a child or children to an all-Irish school does not necessarily imply a strong commitment to simultaneously establish an Irish-speaking home. In fact, about 40% took the school decision without any clear intention with regard to home bilingualism and about half of these still claim to have no feelings on the matter, one way or the other.

3.2.4 Relationships between general attitudinal patterns

As might be expected, there is a strong relationship between these three attitudinal items. Nearly all of those strongly in favour of home bilingualism

/ ....

are also strongly in favour of the Irish language and all-Irish education -- and this percentage doubles (from 16% to 35%) with experience of all-Irish schooling. On the other hand, there are some (11% before and 24% after all-Irish school experience) who report themselves as strongly in favour of the first two items, but only moderately in favour of home use of Irish. So, while attitudes to home use of Irish is a good predictor of attitudes on the other measures, the opposite does not hold to anything like the same degree.

Another relationship of interest is the wife/husband attitudinal combination. While we have stressed the similarity of the attitudinal patterns of wife and husband, these patterns are, of course, derived from the total population and do not necessarily imply uniformity within an individual couple. However, when this relationship is examined, a substantial degree of agreement is revealed. Taking current attitudes towards home use of Irish as an example, 75% of the couples have the same attitude, in 14% the wife is more favourable, and in the remaining 11% the husband is more favourable.

It would be possible to extend an analysis of these attitudinal patterns much further, but the main focus of this chapter is on the reasons for sending children to an all-Irish school. It is to these matters that we must now turn.

3.3 Reasons for sending children to an all-Irish school

The respondents were asked, in an open-ended question, for the main arguments taken into consideration when the decision about sending a child to an all-Irish school was at the discussion stage. Although we were seeking to elicit the general considerations deemed important by the respondent and her spouse, it is clear that, for many couples, the decision on all-Irish education in principle was taken with a particular all-Irish school in mind.

/ ....

Table 3.4

Main arguments used* in the course of deciding on an all-Irish education for respondents' children

1	Bilingualism a good thing/children would at least have the language even if never used subsequently	37%
2	Pupil/teacher ratios (incl. no room in the local national school)	28%
3	Irish properly taught and its future ensured/taught in a natural manner (unlike long ago)	23%
4	Atmosphere prevalent in AIS/No snobs/Not rough/parents involved etc.	14%
5	Doubts about effects on child	12%
6	Accessibility of the school to the home	9%
7	School's educational record (good results, committed teachers)	8%
8	Good grounding in Irish for secondary school later (incl. passport to particular all-Irish secondary school)	6%
9	Good for jobs later (incl. Irish = 2 honours in Leaving Cert.)	5%
	Respondent or spouse had been to (same) AIS and liked it	5%
	No argument — always accepted that children would go to AIS	5%
12	School's status or reputation/recommended by person with AIS experience	4%
13	Irish a good foundation for learning a third language	3%
14	The children's wishes	2%
	All-Irish education "a challenge for a particularly bright child"	2%
	Other miscellaneous	4%

While love of the language is clearly evident in two of the top three arguments, it is also apparent that other considerations played a large part for a significant number of parents when deciding on an all-Irish education for

* These are exclusive and, therefore, do not total 100%: only 55% gave one, while 29% gave two, 13% gave three and 3% gave four 'main arguments".

/ ....

their children (especially pupil-teacher ratios, which half of the AIS principal teachers in the pilot survey gave as the most important reason why parents send children to their schools). Other "non-language" motives such as accessibility and good educational record, while small enough by themselves, together make up a sizeable proportion of what parents considered important at this stage of planning their child's future.

As we note in the table, some respondents gave only one argument while others gave as many as four. To improve the analytical usefulness of this basic table, we sorted the families into three groups. The groups were those who, irrespective of the number of arguments used, gave (a) only "language" reasons; (b) only "non-language" reasons; and (c) those who gave both types of reasons. The proportions in each group were:

Language reasons only	37%
Both language and non-language reasons	27%
Non-language reasons only	36%
	100%

Referring back to Table 3.4, we choose to regard as language reasons items numbered one, three and the last two of the three items numbered nine. All the remainder were deemed to be non-language, or more positively, essentially educational reasons. Collapsed in this fashion, this variable will be shown to be very useful in the analysis generally and with some exceptions involving the mixed category, its relationship with other attitudinal and language use items follows a consistent and predictable pattern. The main conclusion to be drawn at this stage, however, is that in the respondents' own estimation slightly more than one third of the families included in the survey chose all-Irish schools primarily for educational reasons without specific regard to the language dimension. At the other extreme, a roughly similar proportion would appear to be responding mainly to language considerations. The remaining group would appear, although the evidence is not presented until later in the chapter, to be far closer in their attitudinal and use patterns to the "language reasons only" group than the "non-language reasons only" group.

Finally, the relationship between this variable and the most differentiating of the previous attitudinal items might be noted: those giving language reasons only are (at 88%) much more favourable towards rearing their children

/ ....

through Irish than those giving non-language reasons only (44%) or those giving both types of reasons (70%). All of the remainder are indifferent except for 15% of the non-language only group who are opposed.

3.3.1 Selecting the particular all-Irish school

We may elaborate this interpretation further by analysing the responses to some other questions. In one instance the respondent was asked first to indicate all the arguments used in selecting the particular all-Irish school and then to state the key or 'crunch factor'.

Table 3.5

Arguments considered in selecting the particular all-Irish school

BY reasons for choosing all-Irish education

	Arguments	Total	Reasons		
			Language	Both	Non-lang.
1.	Accessibility	73%	78%	73%	67%
2.	The language properly taught and its future thus ensured	69%	66%	90%	56%
3.	Pupil-teacher ratios better in AIS	65%	46%	73%	77%
4.	The general atmosphere in the AIS	58%	59%	83%	39%
5.	Good grounding in Irish for secondary school	52%	44%	73%	44%
6.	Special commitment of the AIS teachers	47%	44%	52%	49%
7.	Parental ability to assist AIS children with homework in Irish	45%	37%	55%	46%
8.	The status or reputation of AIS in the community	26%	17%	27%	36%
9.	The educational record of the AIS	25%	24%	21%	28%
10.	Children's level of Irish at time	18%	17%	28%	13%
11.	Physical facilities	16%	10%	17%	23%
12.	The children's wishes	12%	5%	21%	13%
13.	The Nationalist/Republican tradition ensured	12%	12%	21%	5%
	Plus 12 additional items among 30 respondents		33%	21%	28%

/ ....

As we have already noted, many respondents clearly answered the previous questions on general reasons with a particular school in mind. There is, therefore, a considerable overlap. Also this was in large measure a closed question with the first thirteen items read out to the respondent. This may have encouraged a degree of overresponse to items not, in fact, given any great weight by the respondent. The following question, discussed below, controls for this in asking for the "crunch" factor.

Nevertheless, the table does have some features of note. While the relationships of both the 'language reasons only' and the 'non-language reasons only' tend to go in the expected direction, the pattern of the remaining group is different from both. Individual families in this group would appear to have undertaken a more comprehensive approach than either of the other two — they consistently mention both language and non-language factors more frequently, scoring highest in nine of the first twelve items. This may be due to the fact that a substantial number of this group are attached to the newest schools (see Table 3.8). In those situations, more careful consideration on the part of parents may be required. Another significant aspect of the table is the manner in which the importance of accessibility is underlined for all groups. Finally, it is clear that practical considerations have some importance even for the 'language only' group.

Table 3.6

Key argument in selecting school BY reasons for choosing all-Irish education

	'Crunch' argument	Total	Reasons		
			Lang.	Both	Non-lang.
1.	Pupil teacher ratios	23%	15%	21%	33%
2.	The language properly taught and its future thus ensured	19%	22%	35%	5%
	Accessibility	19%	29%	14%	13%
4.	The atmosphere/culture prevailing in the school	9%	10%	14%	5%
5.	Strongly recommended by friends/relations/ canvasser	6%	7%	-	10%
6.	Educational record of the AIS	5%	-	10%	5%
7.	Commitment of teachers	3%	2%	-	5%
	Parent had been to the same AIS when young	3%	5%	3%	-
8.	Child(ren)'s wishes	2%	-	-	5%
	Good grounding in Irish for secondary school	2%	2%	-	3%
	General status or reputation of the AIS	2%	2%	-	3%
	The husband insisted that the child attend AIS	2%	-	3%	3
	No "crunch factor"/Don't recall	1%	-	-	-
	Plus an additional 6 arguments from 6 respondents	5%	5%	-	12%
		N = 110	100%	100%	100%

In this table it can be seen that basic educational factors were important for all groups. However, while accessibility is deemed most critical by the 'language' group, pupil/teacher ratios are considered of greater significance by the other two groups, especially the 'non-language' group. Also, it would appear that a substantial minority of both the 'language' and 'both' group would discount all practical considerations for the sake of language issues. In this they contrast very strongly with the 'non-language' group.

3.3.2 Reasons for previously sending a child to a non-all-Irish school

Before moving on to analyse variations in the reasons given for selecting all-Irish schools, we will first examine the consistency of the pattern described so far with some other matters. Some parents in all the 'reasons' groups had removed their child from a non-all-Irish school to send him to an all-Irish one. The overall proportion was 47%, but only 32% of those giving 'language only' reasons did so, compared to 50-60% for the other two groups. This suggests that parents in the first group were much more likely to have had all-Irish education in mind from the outset, while families in the other two groups were more likely to consider all-Irish schooling after they had experience of other schools. However, when asked why the child attended a non-all-Irish school previously, a difference emerges between these last two groups. Those giving both language and non-language reasons were more likely (79% to 42%) to give as an explanation that the all-Irish school was not accessible or in existence at the time. Those giving 'non-language reasons' only, on the other hand, were more likely (23% to 0%) to simply say that they had not thought of an all-Irish school at the time. Given the consistent emphasis of this group on basic educational factors such as pupil/teacher ratios, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that about 35% of the families are primarily availing of all-Irish schools because of their more favourable rating on many educational criteria. It is interesting in this regard to note that 32% of all respondents felt that "most parents do not have the Irish language as their primary concern in sending their children to my child's all-Irish school".

3.3.3 Degree of satisfaction with all-Irish education

Only 10% of the respondents expressed any regret at the decision to send their child to an all-Irish school. Two-thirds of this small proportion were parents who had given non-language reasons only for initially choosing an all-Irish school. However, apart from this substantial relationship, there would

appear to be no other single underlying factor in this dissatisfaction. Detailed questioning indicated that most objections were specific to one child or to one teacher.

Two other questions were asked which gave the respondent an opportunity to reveal dissatisfaction if it was present. While little general dissatisfaction emerges, the relationship between these replies and reasons for selecting all-Irish schools is interesting. To the first question, only half of the non-language respondents strongly disagreed that 'my child cannot keep up with the level of Irish expected in the all-Irish school' compared with three quarters of the other two groups, while the second 'my child's English is suffering through over-exposure to Irish in the all-Irish school' crosstabulates with 'reasons' in an almost identical fashion. In this case, however, 15% of the 'non-language reasons only' group agree with the statement. It would appear that those who are sending their children to all-Irish schools for primarily educational reasons are likely to be somewhat uneasy about the implications for their child of the language dimension. Nevertheless, this unease did not, by and large, express itself as outright dissatisfaction and the overall impression is that most parents are very satisfied with their particular all-Irish school.

3.3.4 Future decisions about all-Irish schooling

We can carry this analysis of satisfaction further by looking at the responses to two future-orientated questions. Respondents were asked if they could foresee the possibility that any of their children in the future would not attend an all-Irish school. This question was asked with regard to both primary and post-primary education.

While the overall proportion who forsee the possibility of a child not attending an all-Irish primary school is small (16%), as many as 33% of the non-language only group foresee this possibility compared with only 10% and 5% of the mixed and language only groups respectively. The main reasons given for this anticipated possibility echo those referred to in the previous section i.e. current (or anticipated) negative effects on children or the adoption of a wait-and-see stance.

The position with regard to all-Irish post-primary education is more complicated. Nearly 50% of all respondents considered it a possibility that their children would not be attending an all-Irish post-primary school. Although the relationship between the three groups is as expected, the

/ ....

proportion is nevertheless more than one third in each case ('Language' = 37%; 'mixed' = 43%; 'non-language' = 68%). The respondents were asked to give their reasons for this anticipation and these are listed in the following table.

Table 3.7

Reasons for foreseeable non-attendance by children at secondary AIS

	No.	%
Accessibility at the time	12	23%
Older children getting along fine in the non-AIS	10	19%
Depends on how the children fare at primary AIS	6	11%
Children will have sufficient Irish after primary AIS	6	11%
Particular child is slow/doing badly/would be asking too much	5	9%
Husband will decide (probably in favour and against wife's wishes	3	6%
Would depend on standard of teaching at the time	3	6%
It will be left to the children to decide	2	4%
If boys wish to study non-arts at university, then no AIS	2	4%
Lack of textbooks in Irish for secondary AIS	2	4%
AIS secondary would give too-confined a view of life	2	4%
	53	100%

As all-Irish post-primary schools in the Dublin area are much fewer in number than all-Irish primary schools it is not surprising that accessibility should emerge as the main difficulty. There also emerges in this table a point which, in retrospect, we might have probed more explicitly, i.e., the parents' perception of the value of all-Irish post-primary vis-a-vis all-Irish primary education. Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, it would appear that many parents are satisfied if their children receive all-Irish education at the primary level alone. Respondents were asked for their reaction to the statement 'primary all-Irish schools are a waste of time if there are not sufficient second-level all-Irish schools'. Overall, 65% of the respondents disagree with this statement, thereby implying an important perceived role for all-Irish primary education in isolation. This does not, of course, carry the additional implication that all-Irish post-primary education is unnecessary. However, the internal variation is significant. Only 19% of those giving 'language reasons only' agree with the statement compared with 49% of those giving 'non-language reasons only'. As the first group have always been high home users of Irish (See Table 3.9 and section 4.3.4.2) it is possible that they are suggesting that a substantial measure of home bilingualism plus all-Irish primary schooling makes them independent of the linguistic content of

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

secondary schooling. The attitude of the latter group is more difficult to explain unless it can be seen as a protest against the illogicality, as they perceive it, of providing all-Irish primary schooling but not following through with sufficient post-primary all-Irish schools. They may be viewing their children's achievement in Irish as an investment which cannot be fully realised outside this context (a point which is reinforced by the fact that a third of them are determined to follow this course regardless of difficulties – see next section).

However, as in the case of all-Irish primary schools, these remarks should not hide the fact that 50% of the total respondents intend to send their children to all-Irish secondary schools, and that a substantial number of the remainder would do so if some practical difficulties were overcome.

3.3.5 Future residential moves and all-Irish schooling

Seventy percent of respondents said that they and their husbands would take the location of an AIS "into account" if contemplating any future change of address, while as many as 46% were quite adament that they would not move to an area if there was no AIS there. The fact that 31% of the 'non-language' respondents would not move (compared with 55% to 65% of those who mentioned language reasons) seems to indicate a measure of satisfaction or involvement with, and perhaps, dependency on the AIS which is consistent with the replies to previous questions. Incidentally, as many as 10% of respondents knew of other couples who had changed their address so as to be nearer to an AIS, although none of the respondents themselves had done so.

3.3.6 Variation between schools

This proved to be a very illuminating relationship. What is involved here is not, of course, the particular school per se, but rather the general socio-linguistic character of each school's catchment area.

/ ....

Table 3.8

School attended by respondents' child BY reasons given for choosing all-Irish education

	A. SCHOOL GROUP				B. FOUNDED	
	1 (N=15)	2 (N=22)	3 (N=30)	4 (N=43)	Pre-1970 (N=52)	Post-1970 (N=58)
Language only	47%	27%	27%	47%	48%	28%
Language/Non-language	6%	18%	43%	28%	19%	34%
Non-language only	47%	55%	30%	25%	33%	38%

It is apparent from the table that there are significant differences between the school groups. This is to be expected given the differences between the schools in sociolinguistic characteristics (see Chapter Two) and the nature of the relationship with these basic social and linguistic variables discussed below. As will be shown later in the report, these variations are related in a consistent fashion to home and social use of Irish.

A feature underlying the first part of this table and which we attempted to highlight in the second part, is the difference between the older and the newer schools. There is, first, the definite polarisation in attitude among respondents whose children attend the older schools. These respondents appear to know precisely what they want of the schools. Those with children attending the newer schools are far more likely to offer mixed reasons. The second feature is the similarity in the proportion of those giving only 'non-language' reasons in both groups, although the earlier table shows considerable variation in this. We will return to this rather complicated problem in the concluding section, for its explanation requires reference to matters not hitherto mentioned.

3.4 Factors associated with variations in the reasons given by respondents for sending children to an all-Irish school

In the previous sections we have attempted to show that the parents of all-Irish school children fall into three groups when their reasons for sending children to the school are examined. The groups, not greatly dissimilar in size, are those who (a) are primarily seeking linguistic

/ ....

objectives (37%); (b) those primarily seeking some educational advantage (36%) and (c) those acting out of a mixture of both types of objectives (27%). While this measure of attitudinal disposition is based on the response to one multi-option question, we have attempted to show its central importance through an examination of its consistency with other attitudinal items relating to the Irish language, home bilingualism, the selection of the school, previous school decisions, satisfaction with all-Irish schools and attitude to future educational and residential decisions. It is now intended to carry this examination further with an analysis of the relationship between this attitudinal pattern and a number of social, demographic, spatial and linguistic variables. The purpose of this section is to establish the social characteristics of the groups holding these various attitudinal positions.

3.4.1 Age of respondent and rank of first child to attend an all-Irish school

These two variables are strongly related to the 'reasons' variable described above, and the relationship brings out a significant feature of differences between families.

If the respondent has one or more older children at a non-all-Irish school she is more likely to give non-language reasons only for her choice of an all-Irish school (53% to 31%). This relationship is, of course, also underlying the age relationship which runs in the same direction for it is generally the older respondents who have other children at a non-AIS. (In addition, all of those opposed to rearing children at home through Irish are over 35 years of age). This suggests that many families in the 'non-language reasons' group are reacting to the particular educational difficulties of an individual child and/or availing of the advantageous educational benefits of an all-Irish school, rather than committing the family generally to all-Irish education.

It is also noteworthy that the group giving mixed reasons shows no particular variation along either of these variables. They seem, rather, to be a residual 25% in all age-groups and family patterns.

3.4.2 Husbands' Occupational Status

This relationship is somewhat perplexing — only one of the nine respondents in the semi-skilled/unskilled category gave 'language' reasons

/ ....

only compared with 42% - 45% of all the other (higher) Hall-Jones status groups except the managerial/executive class (22%). This, and other apparently anomalous status group relationships become clearer when controlled for public versus private sector employment, etc. (see section 2.3.2d). It is clear for the moment, however, that only moderately accurate predictions can be made from occupational status data about attitudes towards all-Irish education.

3.4.3 Parents' ability in Irish

Related to age and education, but constituting a separate variable in its own right are the parents' ability levels in Irish. In homes where neither the husband nor the wife has high ability, only 48% discussed language considerations at all compared with 76% of couples where at least one of the partners has high ability. Within this latter category, the percentage discussing only language considerations increases as the ability combination increases, as follows: High + Low ability (25%); High + Middling (44%); Both parents have high ability (50%).

3.4.4 Home use of Irish before all-Irish school involvement

As we explain in the following chapter, the data obtained from the respondent on home use of Irish at this stage was scaled to give four categories of use: (0) – very low or no use of Irish; (1-3) – low use of Irish; (4-7) – moderate use of Irish and (8-11) – high use of Irish. As can be seen in Table 3.9, there is a strong relationship, but its predictive power is greatly diminished by the fact that 76% of the families fall into the lowest use category.

Table 3.9

Home use of Irish before all-Irish school involvement BY reasons given for choosing all-Irish education

Home Use / Reasons	Very low (N=81)	Low/Moderate (N=12)	High (N=14)
Language only	30%	50%	72%
Language/Non-language	30%	25%	14%
Non-language only	40%	25%	14%

/ ....

3.4.5 Attendance by parents at activities where Irish was used

Past attendance at Irish-using activities by respondents and/or their husbands is quite illuminating when compared with reasons for sending their child to an AIS. Table 3.10 shows that where both parents were already active in Irish-using activities, they were most likely to give language-only reasons; that where neither parent was involved, they were most likely to give non-language only reasons and, perhaps most importantly, where only one of the parents was involved, they were most likely to send the child for both types of reasons.

Table 3.10

Parental attendance at Irish-using activities before AIS involvement BY reasons given for choosing all-Irish education

Attended by / Reasons	Neither (N=54)	One only (N=22)	Both (N=33)
Language only	30%	36%	52%
Language/Non-language	22%	46%	21%
Non-language only	48%	18%	27%

3.4.6 Distance of respondents' residence from the school

This variable might be expected to be clearly related to the reasons given by respondents. As the maps included in Chapter Two demonstrate, some families live considerable distances from the school. In view of the inconveniences created by this, it seemed reasonable to expect that those living farther away were attracted by some clearly perceived advantage — linguistic or otherwise.

Table 3.11

Distance from the school BY reasons given for choosing all-Irish education

Distance / Reasons	1 mile or less (N=41)	1-3 miles (N=41)	3 miles plus (N=28)
Language only	39%	29%	46%
Language/Non-language	29%	20%	36%
Non-language only	32%	51%	18%

/ ....

Those living farthest away contain the greatest proportion giving only language reasons ad the smallest number giving only non-language reasons. As this group contains a large number of parents with high levels of ability in Irish, this is not surprising. The 51% in the middle-distance group who give non-language reasons only, however, is explained by the dominance of a couple of particular school groups in this category. As was shown in Chapter Two, because of variations in the size of catchment area, all schools are not equally represented in each of these three distance categories.

3.4.7 Duration of all-Irish school involvement

This relationship is similarly strongly affected by the distribution of school groups, and reliable conclusions are difficult. While there would appear to be a tendency over the four years in question for the proportions giving language only reasons to decline and those giving non-language only reasons to increase, the trends are not pronounced. Most important, however, is the substantial over-representation of families from the newer schools in the one and two year categories. This may prove to be a short-term feature of these schools, being associated with the establishment phase.

3.5 Explaining variation among families

In the previous section a number of variables were shown to be associated with differences in the reasons given by respondents for sending children to an all-Irish school. However, efforts to isolate the factors "explaining" this variation proved disappointing. A multiple regression analysis, using eleven independent variables explained only 17% of the variance. Pre-AIS parental ability in Irish and pre-AIS family home use of Irish each explained 5% of the total variance but no other variable accounted for more than 2%.

/ ....

Table 3.12

Variables having most effect on reasons for sending children to all-Irish schools

Reasons for sending child to AIS	Intercorrelations (zero-order) 1	2	3	4	Variance explained (R^2) SCHOOL GROUP Total	1^o	2^o	3^o	4^o
	.26	.30	.14	.18	.17	.73	.49	.19	.29
1. Pre-AIS parental ability in Irish	–	.55	.37	.17	.05	.35	–	.01	.05
2. Pre-AIS family home use	–	–	.13	.12	.05	.02	.25	.09	.04
3. Amount of all-Irish education received by parents	–	–	–	.11	.02	.02	–	–	.05
4. Rank of first child to attend AIS	–	–	–	–	.02	.01	.12	.04	.02
Combined effects of seven other variables					.03	.33	.12	.05	.13

The weak explanatory power of the independent variables is partly due to the fact that they are often highly correlated with each other e.g. use with ability, education with occupation, age of mother with rank of first AIS child etc. However, the strength of the intercorrelations varies widely between the different school groups so that the predictive power of individual variables differs between schools. This is inevitable, given the basic characteristics of the school groups. Nevertheless, it would appear that there are other independent variables specific either to the school itself (managerial policy etc.) or to the socio-demographic nature of its catchment area which we have not been able to take into account. Furthermore, other factors of a social-psychological nature may be operating within individual couples and families which cannot be fully isolated using standardised questionnaires.

Both of these sets of factors affect our attempts to explain variation in the other main performance variables and they emphasise the exploratory

/ ....

nature of the study. Further reference will be made to these issues in later chapters, but in the next section we develop some ideas on all-Irish schooling in the context of educational choices generally.

3.6 Conclusions

It is important, we think, in interpreting the reasons given by parents for selecting all-Irish schooling for their children, to remember that this decision is a choice between various educational options. While some, probably a slight majority, of parents are actively seeking to achieve a linguistic objective for their children and themselves, others would appear to be only marginally swayed by such considerations. For all, however, the decision is taken against a background of educational possibilities which include the local national school, possibly adjacent national schools and private primary schools which include a relatively small number of all-Irish schools. Each of the options carries its own set of benefits and costs for the family. These costs/benefits equations have, in part, an objective dimension and can be measured in terms like accessibility, pupil/teacher ratios, amount of Irish taught etc., but it is obvious from our findings that parents differ in their evaluation of these specific items, and the same item could be given greater or lesser weighting according to the perceptions of the parents. We have in our survey hopefully succeeded in identifying some of the main factors which colour an individual couple's perception of the different options known to be available to them.

Unfortunately, it would require a very different type of project to establish what the options are and how far they are known by and perceived by parents. Some questions might help to explain the kind of issues we have in mind. How adequate is the national school system in different parts of the city?* How well is Irish taught in national schools?** How easy is it to transfer children between national schools if difficulties arise? How widespread is the distribution of private primary schools and how expensive

---

* e.g. 47% transferred children from national schools to AISs.

** e.g. 30% were dissatisfied with the way Irish was taught to them when they themselves were in primary school.

/ ....

are they? How knowledgeable are parents of the alternatives? Is this knowledge confined to local alternatives or does it include more distant possibilities? How do the all-Irish schools rate against these last three questions?

Against this background we can only offer some partial and tentative conclusions. Some, but not all, of the older (pre-1970) schools would appear far more likely to attract parents who are deliberately seeking language objectives. In view of the way they contrast in this respect with the more recent schools (Table 3.8B), and the obvious trouble some parents take upon themselves to send children there, it seems reasonable to argue that these schools have a high rating or image among this type of parent. Being long-established they have, of course, had the opportunity to create this image in people's minds and become well-known. Generally, parents who send children to these schools appear to be quite certain and clear about their objectives.

By comparison, the more recent schools are noticeably less likely to attract this type of parent. It is tempting, following the line of argument presented in the previous paragraph, to explain this by reference to the recent establishment of the schools and the correspondingly weak and uncertain image they portray. But while this may be the case, there are other distinguishing factors. With the important exception of Rathcoole, all these schools have very restricted catchment areas so that accessibility is not a problem. As these schools involve a relatively high proportion of parents who gave mixed reasons for choosing an all-Irish school, they would appear to be attracting what we now may call "reluctant bilinguals". These are quite favourably disposed people who probably would not take the trouble to overcome the accessibility problem with the older schools. But the opportunity of an accessible all-Irish school on their doorstep also poses difficulties, simply because it has no established educational record. Nevertheless, although their decision would appear hesitant, the survey shows that they respond very positively to the linguistic opportunities that all-Irish education for the children offers them. From the viewpoint of the national language objective, the success of the newer schools in involving this type of parent is significant.

/ ....

That all schools attract parents who are acting primarily out of educational motives is hardly surprising. The schools appear to be very advantageously placed on basic educational criteria and this in itself will bring them to the notice of parents who might not otherwise consider all-Irish education. What remains problematical in this regard is the variation between school groups (Table 3.8A). The differences between the schools with the highest proportion (55%) of such parents and the lowest (25%) is substantial. Two possible explanations may, without much evidence, be offered. The variation may be related to the local educational circumstances of individual school areas. There may be few alternatives to the national schools in a district, resulting in the applications to the all-Irish school (as the one alternative) including an above average number of parents who are merely dissatisfied with the local school. Secondly, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion at least, that management practices may vary among the twelve schools. We detected this possibility when interviewing the school principals and there is some external evidence as well: some schools with a very high proportion of parents of this type would appear to differ very little in their locational and socio-demographic characteristics from other schools with a significantly lower proportion of such parents.

Nonetheless, allowing for the tentative nature of some of our conclusions, they have implications for policy and these will be discussed in the final chapter. We will now turn to a consideration of changes in family and social use of Irish and it will be seen that the attitudinal patterns identified in this chapter relate quite consistently to these dimensions of language behaviour.

CHAPTER FOUR – HOME USE OF IRISH

4.1 Introduction

4.2 General use patterns – item analysis

- 4.2.1 Childhood home use
- 4.2.2 Irish use in the home before child began at AIS
- 4.2.3 Irish use in the home since child began at AIS
- 4.2.4 Change in use patterns

4.3 General use patterns – scale analysis

- 4.3.1 Construction of Guttman Scales
- 4.3.2 Home use of Irish before AIS and at time of interview
  - 4.3.2.1 Home use between parents
  - 4.3.2.2 Home use between parents and children
  - 4.3.2.3 Home use and mass media
- 4.3.3 Obstacles to increased home use

4.4 Factors associated with home use

- 4.4.1 Parental ability
- 4.4.2 Parental attitudes
- 4.4.3 Socio-demographic factors
- 4.4.4 Inter-school variation
- 4.4.5 Non-home use
- 4.4.6 Childhood home use

4.5 Explaining variation

4.6 Conclusions

CHAPTER FOUR – HOME USE OF IRISH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is mainly concerned with describing and explaining current patterns of home bilingualism and the extent to which these have changed since AIS participation. We begin the analysis with a descriptive outline of patterns of use at different stages in the respondents' lives, culminating in an overview of changes that have occurred since AIS participation. This introductory section will be based on single items of home use relating to the intensity of (a) interpersonal use between husband/wife, parent/children etc. and (b) mainly parent/child situational use of Irish at mealtimes, helping with homework, watching Irish language television programmes etc. In the second part of the chapter these different interpersonal and situational items are summarised into family scores of home use and examined again in terms of changes over time. The remainder of the chapter will relate these to a number of possible explanatory variables.

4.2 General use patterns – item analysis

In this section, overall patterns of use of Irish will be described for three stages of the respondent's life (a) childhood home, (b) home prior to AIS participation and (c) home at present. As we are mainly interested in the changes occurring during the last two stages, the final part of the section will confine itself to a description of language shifts in this period.

4.2.1 Childhood home use

Table 4.1 summarises the interpersonal use frequencies of Irish in the childhood home of the respondents in this survey and those in the National (Non-Gaeltacht) CLAR survey. The differences between the two surveys are most striking in the "Always/Often" category where there is generally a much higher proportion in the AIS survey reporting extensive use. The relatively

/ ....

high use with non-household-members contrasts strongly with both the National CLAR survey and patterns in the current home of the AIS respondents. However, these observations should not obscure the fact that eighty percent of the respondents report that Irish was seldom or never used in their childhood homes.

Table 4.1

Percentage distribution of use frequencies of Irish in respondents' childhood homes

Interpersonal use	FREQUENCY: Always/Often		Occasionally		Seldom/Never	
Mother and Father	11.8	(2.5)	2.7	(2.1)	85.4	(94.6)
Mother and Children	10.0	(2.7)	7.3	(2.9)	82.7	(94.4)
Father and Children	12.7	(3.0)	7.3	(2.5)	79.3	(94.7)
Children with each other	9.1	(3.9)	11.8	(5.4)	78.2	(90.0)
Parents and Relatives	9.1	(2.7)	6.4	(1.9)	84.5	(94.4)
Parents and Friends/ visitors	13.6	(2.2)	3.6	(2.2)	81.8	(94.7)
Any Grandparents	9.1	(3.1)	3.6	(0.9)	83.6	(94.9)

Notes:
(i) Figures in brackets are the comparable percentages from the National Survey of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research. (CLAR Report, Table 4.2 p. 177).
(ii) Because of differences in the form of the questions, the percentages in the "Seldom/Never" category are not fully comparable, strictly speaking.
(iii) As some respondents in both surveys were unable to recall their childhood pattern of use, the row totals do not always total 100%.

4.2.2 Irish use in the home before child began at AIS

Table 4.2 summarises the pattern of Irish use in the home before the first child began at an all-Irish school and the situation at time of interview. Before commenting on this pattern it should be noted that the categories of use in this table differ from those used in the previous question and in the CLAR National Survey. In an attempt to elicit more precise information, we increased the number of categories by one ("the odd phrase") and changed the description of frequency in three cases.

/ ....

Table 4.2 : Percentage distribution of use frequencies in respondent's home before and since first child began at AIS

(each row totals 100%)

Personnel/Situations	Period	Frequency of Use							
		All of the Time	Most of the Time	50/50	Total 50%+	Some of the time	The odd Phrase	Never	Not Applicable*
By anyone in the house	Pre-AIS	3	7	5	15	16	31	36	2
	Now	3	13	15	31	53	11	2	3
Interpersonal Use : *"How often would you say Irish (as opposed to English) was/is used between....."*									
Self & Husband	Pre-AIS	3	5	2	10	13	23	54	–
	Now	3	7	5	15	28	12	45	–
Self and Children (In general)	Pre-AIS	6	6	2	14	11	30	45	–
Self and Children (AIS only)	Now	7	13	12	32	42	21	5	–
Self and Children (Non-AIS)	Now	3	4	4	11	19	22	25	23
Husband and Children (In general)	Pre-AIS	8	2	4	14	14	23	48	1
Husband and Children (AIS only)	Now	10	11	9	30	36	13	21	–
Husband and Children (Non-AIS)	Now	3	5	5	13	18	14	32	23
Children/Children	Pre-AIS	3	4	5	12	3	6	76	3
	Now	3	3	10	16	34	11	24	15
By Friends/Visitors	Pre-AIS	–	2	9	11	14	9	66	–
	Now	–	6	9	15	24	13	48	–
Situational Use : *"How often was/is Irish used by either parent with your children....."*									
At Mealtimes	Pre-AIS	6	7	3	16	17	22	45	–
	Now	8	16	6	30	40	21	9	–
Homework	Pre-AIS	4	4	3	11	14	5	59	11
	Now	37	22	6	65	24	6	5	–
Reading/Telling Stories	Pre-AIS	5	3	6	14	10	1	75	–
	Now	6	8	7	21	24	5	49	1
Playing	Pre-AIS	6	4	4	14	13	10	63	–
	Now	7	8	6	21	31	11	36	1
Family Prayer/Church	Pre-AIS	10	2	6	18	7	2	73	–
	Now	22	7	8	37	26	3	33	1
Housework/Gardening etc.	Pre-AIS	6	5	5	16	7	9	68	1
	Now	6	8	4	18	30	14	37	1
TV/Radio	Pre-AIS	5	5	3	13	10	7	70	-
	Now	6	5	9	20	35	9	35	1

* This column also includes a small number of cases where no response was recorded.

It would appear that prior to AIS attendance, Irish was used much more extensively in the homes of all-Irish school families than in the population generally. Although precise ratios cannot be calculated, it is conservatively estimated that approximately ten times as many of our families were in the higher use frequencies than in the CLAR general population (see CLAR Report, Table 4.11, p. 186).

The differences between use patterns prior to AIS attendance and those in the respondents' childhood homes are less striking (see Table 4.1 above). At this pre-AIS stage, the combined higher interpersonal use levels (i.e. 50% or higher Irish use) ranged from 10% to 15% and showed little variation, but considerable variation occurred at the lower levels. The most notable feature is the reported 76% complete non-use of Irish between children themselves*. This would appear to indicate parental unwillingness or inability to establish bilingualism at home without the support of the school. The table suggests that very high levels of Irish use are required if the children are to build up high levels of ability within the home at the pre-school stage.

With regard to the situations in which Irish was used, higher use reflects the overall average of about 15%. However, between 60% and 75% of the families reported no use whatsoever in all but one of the situational contexts – mealtimes (45%). This suggests that were it not for mealtime use of Irish, the "use by anyone", "parent/child" and "husband/wife" never percentages would be considerably higher.

In summary, therefore, it appears that at the pre-AIS stage only 15% of the families used Irish extensively (i.e. 50% of the time or more often); while for approximately two thirds of the families, little or no Irish was used by anyone in the home.

4.2.3 Irish use in the home since child began at AIS

Table 4.2 above also gives the distribution of current Irish use frequencies in the home. For most of the families a period of 2 to 4 years

---

*This includes families where siblings might have been too young at the time to speak any language with older children.

/ ....

has elapsed since the earlier situation.

The differences are substantial. Taking first the general question ("use by anyone") the proportion of families indicating high levels of use by one or more household members has doubled to 71%. Only 2% now report no use at all in the home compared with 36% earlier. However, of even greater interest is the sharply differentiated pattern now revealed in the interpersonal use section of the table. The greatest Irish use occurs between parents and child(ren) attending an all-Irish school. This contrasts strongly with the reported use between parents and other (non-AIS) children. Although this latter set of relationships poses some problems because of the high number of "not applicable" cases, it would appear to substantiate the earlier remark about the extent to which the parents seem to rely on the schools to build up ability and use in the home. This difference in use levels would thus appear to give considerable support to the parents' belief that use patterns would not have changed if the children had not attended an all-Irish school.

There are also differences between husband and wife in this regard. Whereas roughly similar proportions (30%) use Irish with AIS children fifty per cent of the time or more, four times more husbands (21%) than wives (5%) are reported as never using it.

Use of Irish between parents themselves is much lower than use between parents and AIS children (e.g. at the higher use levels it is only 15% compared with ca. 30% parent/AIS child use) and 45% of the parents never use Irish between themselves.

Because of the number of "not applicable" cases, it is not possible to fully compare use between children with other relationships. However, there are strong indications that higher use between children approximates 30%. These differences suggest that within a general family effort to increase the use of Irish, there are considerable variations in the ability and/or motivation of individual members to respond. There is also a marked differentiation in situational use. Much of the use of Irish appears to be channelled into two contexts i.e. mealtime and children's homework. Irish is never used by a third to a half of the families in other situations.

/ ....

4.2.4 Change in use patterns

A comparison of the two sets of figures used in Table 4.2 yields some information about the nature and extent of change in use patterns. However, because of the possibility of counter-trends cancelling each other, such a comparison might not necessarily give an accurate picture. Detailed cross-tabulations between the before and after situation were, therefore, obtained. As these tables are fifteen in number, we will confine the discussion to a general examination of the degree of change.

Table 4.3

Summary of percentage changes occurring in use of Irish since child began at AIS

	INCREASE	DECREASE	NO CHANGE	TOTAL
Used by anyone in the house	77%	3%	20%	100%
Interpersonal use				
Self & Spouse	32%	4%	64%	100%
Self & Children (AIS)	72%	1%	27%	100%
Self & other children	37%	13%	50%	100%
Husband & AIS Children	57%	2%	41%	100%
Husband and other children	32%	14%	53%	100%
Children/Children	60%	5%	35%	100%
By friends/visitors	25%	1%	74%	100%
Situational use				
Mealtimes	56%	2%	42%	100%
Homework	75%	0%	25%	100%
Reading/Telling stories	31%	2%	67%	100%
Playing	40%	4%	55%	100%
Family prayer/Church	46%	2%	52%	100%
Housework/Gardening etc.	38%	3%	59%	100%
Watching TV/Radio	43%	1%	56%	100%
Average	48%	3%	48%	100%

It should be emphasised that this table summarises change, irrespective of magnitude (e.g. a family changing from no use to 50% use is equated with a family moving from no use to using "the odd phrase" of Irish). It is clear, however, that in the vast majority of cases, change is positive.

/ ....

Only two instances of significant decline are reported – the mother's and the father's use with the non-AIS children. Why this decline occurred is difficult to discover; most of the cases involve slippage from very minimal use to complete non-use.

As change is mostly in the same direction, the general pattern is as described in the previous section. The greatest change in interpersonal use occurred between parents and AIS children, the least between parents themselves and with friends/visitors. In situational use the main shift occurred at mealtimes and while assisting children at homework.

The analysis to date has focussed on individual items of home use. As these will be summarised into family scores in the next section, a brief overview might be of help at this point.

(i) High use of Irish in AIS respondents' childhood homes was two to six times as great as the CLAR National figures;

(ii) High use of Irish in AIS respondents' homes prior to AIS attendance by their children was (at ca. 15%) about ten times as high as the CLAR National figures; in both instances, however, the proportions involved are small;

(iii) High use of Irish by time of interview had doubled between parents and AIS children, the two chief contexts being mealtimes and family prayer, while, not surprisingly, homework increased by a factor of six. Increases in other areas – both interpersonal and situational – were much less impressive as regards movement into the higher use levels although very substantial increases occurred at lower use levels.

4.3 General use patterns – scale analysis

4.3.1 Construction of Guttman Scales of home use

In an attempt to reduce the data on home use to more manageable proportions and to grade the reconstructed data according to its maximum explanatory power, two Guttman Scales were constructed. The first of these "HOME-PRE" relates to home use of Irish before the first child began to attend an AIS: The second "HOMEPOST" relates to the situation

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

at time of interview. Each measures the degree of difficulty experienced by respondents and their families with eleven items of home use and rank-orders them accordingly. Each item is either passed or failed by each family, the "pass" criterion being 50% or greater use of Irish for that item. The eleven items are listed below according to their degree of difficulty, beginning with the easiest item to pass and ending with the most difficult item to pass. The percentages give the pass-rate for each item.

Table 4.4

Constituent items of Guttman Scales

Rank order		HOME-PRE Item (50% or greater use pre-AIS attendance)	"Pass" %	HOMEPOST Item (50% or greater use at time of interview)	"Pass" %
Easiest to pass	1	Family Prayer/Church	19	Parents help with homework	67
	2	Mealtimes	17	Mother with AIS children	33
	3	Housework etc. with children	16	Used by anyone in the house	32
	4	Use by anyone in the house	16	Mealtimes	31
	5	Playing with the children	15	Father with AIS children	30
	6	Storytelling with children	14	Playing with the children	23
	7	Father with children	14	Storytelling with children	23
	8	Mother with children	14	TV/Radio	22
	9	TV/Radio	13	Housework etc. with children	19
	10	Friends/Visitors to house	11	Mother with Father	16
Most difficult	11	Mother with Father	10	Friends/Visitors to house	15

These are good scales by normal standards* and so will be used throughout this report. In the interest of clarity, the number of items passed have been recoded as follows:

---

*Statistics

	HOME-PRE	HOMEPOST
Coefficient of reproducibility	0.9626	0.9074 (should be greater than 0.9000)
Minimum marginal reproducibility	0.8556	0.7487
Percent improvement	0.1071	0.1587
Coefficient of scalability	0.7412	0.6314 (should be greater than 0.6000)

The inter-item correlation matrix (Yule's Q) yielded no score less than 0.92 in HOME-PRE, while in HOMEPOST, the minimum score was 0.74 (there were only four correlations less than 0.80 — Mother with AIS children being involved in three of them).

/....

SCORE	HOME-PRE		HOMEPOST	
None (no items passed)	N=81	(76%)	N=30	(28%)
1-3 items passed	N= 9	(8%)	N=44	(42%)
4-7 " "	N= 3	(3%)	N=12	(11%)
8-11 " "	N=14	(13%)	N=20	(19%)
	107	100%	106	100%

Because they are valid Guttman Scales, it can be taken as a general rule that the items in the recoded scheme will run in the sequence of difficulty outlined above e.g. families passing (8-11) items will in most cases have passed all of the first 7 "easier" items plus one or more of the four most difficult items. The two scales are composed of almost identical items. The easiest item to pass in each scale does not appear in the other scale* while the two items Mother-Children and Father-Children were restricted in the HOMEPOST scale to use with AIS children only. All of the remaining items are common to both scales so that direct comparisons between the two scales are both feasible and justifiable.

Thus, it is interesting to note that in both scales, use between adults (parent-parent/parents-friends etc) is the most difficult area in which to increase Irish home use; that discussing, watching or listening to TV or radio in Irish is only slightly less difficult; and that all of the other items common to the two scales have shifted by no more than two places relative to their previous positions — with the notable exceptions of Housework use and Mother-(AIS) Children use both of which have shifted six positions, the former downward (from 3rd easiest to 3rd most difficult), the latter upward (from 4th most difficult to 2nd easiest). Each of these points will be examined in greater depth at a later stage.

---

* Helping with Homework was included in the HOMEPOST scale because of its remarkable six-fold increase at the 50%+ level since AIS participation. Family Prayer/Church use of Irish was dropped from the HOMEPOST scale (in spite of its being a good discriminating item and its retention of first position as easiest to pass after "helping with homework") because it reduced the Coefficient of Reproducibility to 0.8962 and the Coefficient of Scalability to 0.6048 (2 of its correlations with other items were only 0.64 compared with a minimum 0.74 with its exclusion; and 23 families failed it who "should" have passed it, as for many families, family prayer — regardless of language used — may not be a feature of family life).

/ ....

4.3.2 Home use of Irish before AIS attendance and at time of interview

The following table shows the overall position as regards home use of Irish by families before AIS (HOME-PRE) and since AIS participation (HOMEPOST).

Table 4.5

Breakdown of families BY number of items passed in home use Guttman Scales before and since AIS participation

Now / Pre-AIS	None		1-3 items		4-7 items		8-11 items		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No.	%
None passed	30	(28%)	38	(36%)	11	(10%)	2	(2%)	81	(76%)
1-3 items	-	-	6	(6%)	1	(1%)	1	(1%)	8	(8%)
4-7 items	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	(3%)	3	(3%)
8-11 items	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	(13%)	14	(13%)
TOTAL	30	(28%)	44	(42%)	12	(11%)	20	(19%)	106	(100%)

This table shows:

(a) that no family decreased its home use of Irish at any level.

(b) that 53% increased their home use of Irish.

(c) that 47% remained at the same level – this includes 13% who were already at the highest level (8-11 items) and so could not rise any further, plus 28% who were already at the bottom and so could not fall any further.

In addition to this general result, the following should be noted:

(d) half of the total families in the study have moved from less than 50% use of Irish (if any at all) before AIS attendance to 50% (or greater) use since that time in at least one area of their domestic life.

(e) although this overall increase results in the proportion of all home users who are intensive* users falling from 65% to 42%, the percentage of intensive* users has actually doubled in absolute terms from 16% to 30%, a quite remarkable increase.

*More than 3 items passed at the 50%+ level ("High" plus "Very high" home use).

/ ....

4.3.2.1 Home use between parents: We have already seen that home use of Irish among adults is the most difficult area to improve. As a check for consistency, respondents were asked a specific additional question concerning their use of Irish with their husbands since AIS participation. The replies indicate that only one couple uses less Irish now (they used to use it as a secret language until the children's rising ability made this impossible): thus the general breakdown is that two thirds (68%) remain unchanged at their pre-AIS level while one third (31%) increased their use with their husbands*.

Table 4.6

HOMEPOST BY change in husband-wife use since AIS participation

Husband-wife use	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
	None	1 - 3	4 - 7	8 - 11	0 - 3	4 - 11
No change	80%	66%	58%	60%	72%	59%
Increase	20%	34%	42%	40%	28%	41%

However, these general figures mask important internal differences as Table 4.6 shows that mother-father use has remained static in 80% of those homes where none of the scale items are passed — which is about 20% higher than in those families where home use is intensive.

---

*
1. These figures correspond almost exactly with the replies given to the separate husband-wife use items included in the Guttman Scales; they also showed a 32% increase over time. (Table 4.3)
2. The reasons for the increase in husband-wife use in all cases referred either to the desire to "keep up with the AIS child" and/or to help the child to sustain an adequate level of Irish use by giving practical example in the home.
3. Increases in family home use do not require substantial changes in joint parental speaking ability. While 54 families have increased their home use since AIS participation, in only 12 families has parental ability increased over the same period. Ten of these 12 families failed all of the HOME-PRE items; 2 of them still fail all of the HOMEPOST items, while 4 each pass (1-3) items and (4-11) items. They are all now at the joint high ability level, i.e. at worst, one parent has only middling ability. (See Appendix B).

/ ....

4.3.2.2 Home use between parents and children: Table 4.7 summarises the replies to the following question: "When you speak Irish with (a) your child(ren) now attending an AIS and (b) your other children, who normally speaks Irish first?" The same question was asked regarding husbands.

Table 4.7

HOMEPOST BY initiator of conversations between parents and (a) AIS child(ren) and (b) non-AIS children

	Mother			Father		
	Number of items passed			Number of items passed		
a) Initiator with AIS child(ren)	0 - 3 (N=74)	4 - 11 (N=32)	TOTAL (N=106)	0 - 3 (N=74)	4 - 11 (N=32)	TOTAL (N=106)
Parent	42%	34%	38%	37%	34%	36%
AIS child	28%	6%	20%	27%	3%	19%
Reciprocal	25%	57%	36%	19%	59%	31%
Neither	5%	3%	5%	17%	3%	14%
b) Initiator with non-AIS child(ren)	0 - 3 (N=63)	4 - 11 (N=19)	TOTAL (N=82)	0 - 3 (N=64)	4 - 11 (N=19)	TOTAL (N=83)
Parent	44%	37%	42%	39%	47%	40%
Non-AIS child	3%	-	2%	3%	-	2%
Reciprocal	3%	47%	15%	3%	42%	13%
Neither	50%	16%	40%	55%	11%	45%

Note: the lower numbers in Part b) of the table are due to a combination of one-child families (5% of total), of families where the younger children cannot talk yet, and of families where all of the children attend an AIS.

It is immediately obvious that more fathers (14%) than mothers (5%) do not use Irish with their AIS children; but that they are much closer in their pattern with Non-AIS children (45% and 40% respectively do not use Irish — a very significant finding, indicating that almost half of the parents do not converse* in Irish with those of their children not attending all-Irish schools).** A much more important finding, however, is that which shows

---

*Thus again, independent additional questions fully substantiate the replies to items included in Table 4.2.

**This helps to explain how, in the HOMEPOST scale, the Mother-AIS child use item has become so much easier to pass, while Housework/Gardening etc. use between parent and child (regardless of AIS attendance) has become much more difficult to pass.

/ ....

quite clearly that in the homes where intensive use of Irish pertains i.e. where more than 3 items are passed in the HOMEPOST scale, the use is reciprocal in that neither parent nor child necessarily introduces conversations through Irish, thus forcing the other to follow: rather, the latter situation pertains in homes passing at most, 3 items.

Moreover, a comparison of the top two rows in each table shows that whereas parents will make broadly similar efforts to initiate conversations with all of their children – regardless both of overall home use scores and whether or not all of the children attend an AIS – it is only the AIS children who ever take the initiative themselves.

4.3.2.3 Home use and mass media: We have already seen that radio/TV use of Irish is one of the most difficult of home use items to improve. This is a problemmatic area as supply – both quantitative and qualitative – of such programmes may not always match the demand. Nevertheless, the following tables show very appreciable differences in radio/TV use among households, when controlled for current home use.

Table 4.8

HOMEPOST BY Irish-medium Radio/TV use in the home

Frequency		TOTAL	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
			None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
Mother	Never	14%	23%	11%	8%	5%	16%	6%
	Less than weekly	19%	34%	16%	9%	10%	23%	10%
	Weekly	31%	23%	36%	50%	20%	31%	31%
	More than weekly	36%	20%	36%	33%	65%	30%	53%
Father	Never	17%	47%	9%	--	--	24%	--
	Less than weekly	23%	23%	29%	8%	10%	27%	9%
	Weekly	30%	23%	39%	42%	15%	32%	25%
	More than weekly	30%	7%	23%	50%	75%	16%	66%
Children	Never	31%	50%	18%	17%	30%	31%	25%
	Less than weekly	31%	27%	43%	33%	10%	37%	19%
	Weekly	29%	20%	32%	33%	40%	27%	37%
	More than weekly	9%	3%	7%	17%	20%	5%	19%

/ ....

Whatever cut-off points are used, the proportion of parents using Irish-medium radio/TV increases dramatically the more Irish is used in the home. It is also very noteworthy that more fathers than mothers are intensive users in those households passing more than 3 items, while the reverse is true in homes where little or no Irish is used. Likewise, as regards the radio/TV Irish use of children, intensive exposure (weekly or more often) is directly related to higher overall home use of Irish; however, differences among the four home use groups as regards complete non-exposure (never watch/listen) are not nearly as clearcut and produce the disturbing finding that none of the children in almost a third (30%) of the highest home use families ever watch TV or listen to radio programmes in Irish - compared with only 5% of their mothers and none of their fathers - hence the "difficulty" of the item in the Home Use Scales.

Respondents were asked to compare current family use of Irish medium TV/Radio with the situation before AIS attendance (Table 4.9). There was no appreciable difference between high home use and low home use families except for an above-average 55% of those now passing (1-3) items.

Table 4.9

HOMEPOST BY percentage reporting increased home use of Irish-medium TV/Radio, books, records etc. since AIS participation

Increased use	Total	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
		None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
TV/Radio	44%	37%	55%	42%	40%	47%	41%
Books, records etc.	49%	50%	73%	67%	95%	63%	84%

Similarly, as regards the use of Irish-medium books, records etc., the same group showed an above-average 73%, which again indicates that special efforts were made by the parents in this group to improve their general home use levels - although the 95% of highest home use families showing an increase is very worthy of note (c.f. following table). Those showing the least increase in use of both TV/Radio and Books/records etc., are those still failing to pass any of the items.

/ ....

Table 4.10 gives the percentages replying positively to a question which asked "if there were more (a) Radio/TV programmes, (b) Reading material and (c) Records available in Irish, do you think that it would lead to a greater use of Irish in your home?"

Table 4.10

HOMEPOST BY Percentage agreeing that the provision of more Irish medium aids would lead to increased home use of Irish

Extra Irish-medium	TOTAL	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
		None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
Radio/TV programmes	78%	63%	80%	92%	90%	73%	91%
Reading material	56%	43%	50%	67%	85%	47%	78%
Records	48%	47%	39%	50%	74%	42%	63%

Again, there is a high correlation between high home use and demand for extra availability of Irish media aids. For all levels of use, TV/Radio is seen as being most important with reading materials firmly in 2nd place -- the one exception being those passing none of the items who seem to slightly favour records to books etc.

It is noteworthy, however, that only 4% of all respondents ranked inadequate Irish in the media as the main obstacle to increasing the use of Irish in their homes. It must also be recorded that 30% to 60% of all respondents report no change in media use of Irish since AIS participation and that 20% to 50% consider that greater availability of Irish medium books, programmes etc. would not result in any change in Irish home use levels. It is obvious then, that a full explanation of media preferences and requirements would entail a much more detailed and thorough examination than we have been able to incorporate in this study.

4.3.3 Obstacles to increased home use

Respondents were asked for the main obstacle to increasing the use of Irish in their homes. Their replies are shown in Table 4.11.

/ ....

Table 4.11

Reasons why more Irish is not spoken in the home

(a) Low ability levels (59%)	
One/Both parents' Irish inadequate	47%
Children's Irish inadequate	4%
Parents' and children's Irish inadequate	8%
(b) Low motivation (22%)	
Parents used to English/too busy or lazy to change	16%
Embarrassment/feel foolish	4%
Disenchantment with Irish/AIS	2%
(c) Low environment support (19%)	
English-speaking locality/environment/visitors	13%
Inadequate Irish programmes on RTE	4%
Older non-AIS children not pro-Irish	2%

Nearly 60% gave the inadequate ability of some family member(s) as the main reason why more Irish was not being used in the home (only one fifth of these mentioned the children's ability). The remainder of the replies were almost evenly divided between low motivation and low environmental support. These latter two reasons may refer to the same general phenomenon, i.e. inability or unwillingness to surmount the difficulties posed by the environment.

As might be expected, actual parental ability declines as "Low Ability" as a perceived obstacle to home use increases. However, high ability couples are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as likely to blame low ability levels as they are to blame either low motivation or low environmental support; and as children are specifically mentioned by only 15% of the respondents across the three main reasons, it would seem that there is an element of ambiguity involved in placing so much of the blame on low ability, reflecting, perhaps, the relatively low attitudinal support for rearing children through Irish (Table 3.3).

High ability respondents tend to blame Low Environmental Support (28%) to a much greater extent than do those with middling or low ability (12%, 0%): – although they represent only 53% of the total respondents they make up

/ ....

80% of those who gave this as the main obstacle. Low Motivation is also slightly more favoured by the high ability couples but the difference between them and those with middling or low ability is not as pronounced (26% to 18%).

Table 4.12

HOMEPOST BY (a) Percentage of high ability couples and (b) perceived main obstacle to increased home use

	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
	None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
a) Percentage with high ability	23%	45%	73%	100%	36%	90%
b) Low Ability	72%	51%	75%	37%	60%	51%
Low Motivation	21%	35%	17%	5%	29%	10%
Environment	7%	14%	8%	58%	11%	39%

Not surprisingly, Table 4.13 shows that the highest (8-11) home use group – all of whom have high parental ability – were least likely to cite low ability as an obstacle (although over a third of them did so) while low motivation was not an issue for them (5%). Those passing none of the items and those passing (4-7) items have an almost identical pattern, low ability – in spite of a very wide ability differential – being seen as the crucial obstacle for both groups. The percentage of those passing (1-3) items who cite low ability is – like those passing none and (8-11) items – in line with their actual ability. Why low motivation is so important for them is not so easy to explain, given that 84% of them are highly committed to rearing their children through Irish.

We will now proceed to examine home use in relation to a series of explanatory variables.

4.4 Home use and explanatory variables

4.4.1 Home use and parental ability: Prior to AIS participation, substantial home use of Irish was confined almost exclusively to families where, at worst, one of the parents only had middling ability and the other had high ability e.g. 35% of these high ability families passed more than 3 items compared with only one of the 64 middling/mixed and low ability families. By the

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

time of interview, this 35% had increased to 50% while only three of the remaining 52* middling/mixed and low ability families attained this level of use. However, as Table 4.13 shows, while it is much easier for couples who already had high ability in the pre-AIS stage to increase family home use (and while this decreases according as pre-AIS ability decreases) it does not necessarily imply that couples with high pre-AIS ability actually do so; in fact, a quarter of those high ability couples who failed all of the items before participation still fail all 11 items in HOMEPOST while another 50% still pass no more than 3 items.

Table 4.13

Pre-AIS parental ability BY current home use of those who failed all of the Pre-AIS home use items (N=84)

	Pre-AIS joint parental ability		
Current home use	Low	Mid/Mixed	High
None	54%	38%	25%
1-3 items	39%	47%	50%
4-7 "	3%	12%	25%
8-11 "	4%	3%	-
	N = 28	N = 32	N = 24

Nevertheless, it is very encouraging to note that a significant minority of homes where pre-AIS parental ability was not high have managed to increase family use of Irish to the highest levels: at the same time, however, it is necessary to stress that although appreciable increases in home use can occur (even to the highest levels) without a quid pro quo increase in parental ability, the greatest simultaneous increases in parental ability and family home use occur most often where at least one of the parents already has high ability (c.f. note 3° in section 4.3.2.1 and Appendix B).

4.4.2 Home use and parental attitudes

a) Reasons for sending child to AIS: Table 4.14 shows that when discussing in principle the desirability of an all-Irish education for their children,

* 12 of the original 64 couples had increased their ability to the highest levels over the same period.

/ ....

parents of families where more than 3 items are now passed were much more inclined to approach the issue in terms of language criteria and much less inclined to discuss non-language criteria than were parents where the home use of Irish has remained low.

Table 4.14

HOMEPOST BY reasons for sending child to an AIS

Considerations	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
	None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
Language only	27%	32%	50%	65%	30%	59%
Non-language only	50%	36%	8%	15%	42%	13%
Mixture	23%	32%	42%	20%	28%	28%

Similarly, when it came to the "crunch factor" deciding which school the child would attend, the language considerations weighed much more heavily with high family use parents (42%) while the more educational motives predominated among those where family home use is low (45%). While there was no significant variation among the families with regard to the third "crunch factor" (the reputation of the school among friends, neighbours etc.) the fourth, accessibility, shows a wide non-linear fluctuation of 10%, 22%, 10% and 30% among the four home use groups.

High rating of accessibility as a factor is positively correlated with distance from the school, with definite cut-off points at the $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and 1 mile limits. If this holds throughout the population at large it would seem likely that accessibility at a more micro-level of distance differential than we have been able to accomodate in this survey could have crucial policy implications. Given that our distance measurements are based on the respondents' own "feeling" of distance it would appear that subjective distance (= "accessibility") is more important than objective distance (measured in miles) even at distances less than one mile.

The fact that those families with the highest home use rated accessibility higher than any of the other groups tends to underline the urgency of studying this problem in greater depth: while the replies to our questions could imply that potential high users of Irish will travel to all-Irish schools despite their inaccessibility, it could also imply that

/ ....

many potential high users value accessibility (subjectively defined) so highly that they will not make the effort to attend an AIS even though it is not "really" inaccessible, objectively defined.

b) Current parental attitudes to rearing children through Irish: In all of the high and very high home use families (more than 3 HOMEPOST items passed) both parents are highly committed to rearing their children through Irish. This falls to 84% of moderate home users (1-3 items passed) while it is only 53% in those families where none of the items are passed.

c) Influence of AIS attendance on home use: The following tables, which report wives' replies to a number of AIS-connected home use questions, also show progressive movement as between those with low, intermediate and substantial or high family use.

Table 4.15

HOMEPOST BY Influence of AIS on level of Irish use in home

ITEM		HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
		None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
Were it not for the fact of our child being at AIS there would be little or no Irish being spoken in this house	Disagree strongly	3%	16%	17%	60%	11%	44%
	Disagree mildly	7%	23%	42%	5%	16%	19%
	Don't know	-	-	8%	-	-	3%
	Agree mildly	55%	23%	8%	15%	36%	12%
	Agree strongly	35%	39%	25%	20%	37%	22%

No matter where one places the cut-off points in this table, there are very great differences between high and low use households. The most outstanding difference is the top row where 60% of the (8-11) users disagree strongly with the statement compared with only 3% of those passing none of the items. However, this table is of special interest because it shows that as many as a third of those families currently passing more than 3 HOMEPOST items would be using little or no Irish were it not for the attendance of their child at the all-Irish school; and this rises to 62% of the (1-3) users and to 90% of those passing none of the items — a remarkable testament to the effectiveness of the AISs in stimulating home use.

/ ....

This point is borne out by the replies to the following question: "In general, has there been a general increase or a general decline in the frequency of use in your home since your child began attending the AIS?".

Table 4.16

HOMEPOST BY overall change in home use since AIS attendance

Overall change	TOTAL	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
		None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
No change	9%	13%	5%	-	20%	8%	13%
Increase	88%	87%	95%	100%	70%	92%	81%
Decrease	3%	-	-	-	10%	-	6%

Once again, the (8-11) users have the lowest increase. This is consistent with their 60% in the previous question which in turn reflects the fact that two thirds of those now in the (8-11) category were already high users prior to AIS attendance.

When those reporting a change in home use were asked if the AIS was primarily responsible for this increase/decrease, all but 5 of the respondents said that it was. Four of these 5 were in the (8-11) use category and their replies were that there had been an increase because the older the children, the more Irish would be spoken anyway and the decrease occurred (a) because of lack of local Irish-using playmates for the children, and (b) because of the already-mentioned redundancy of Irish as a "secret language" between parents as the children's ability improved.

4.4.3 Socio-demographic factors

a) Home use and age of mother: If we accept 35 years of age as the break-off point, it is very obvious that home use of Irish increases to a much greater extent in families where the mother is young, e.g. those passing more than 3 home use items have quadrupled since AIS participation (from 11% to 42%) compared with a very modest increase (from 18% to 25%) from a slightly higher base where the mother is older.

b) Home use and rank of first AIS child: Before AIS participation, families whose first AIS child was also their eldest child were twice as likely as

/ ....

other families to pass more than 3 items (19% to 8%). By time of interview, this had become a three to fourfold difference (39% to 11%). In fact, 12 of the 13 families who failed all of the HOME-PRE items and who now pass more than 3 HOMEPOST items sent their eldest child first to an AIS. These figures are partly explained by the differences in parental ability levels – pre-AIS low ability couples were just as likely to send a younger child as they were to send their eldest child, whereas approximately three quarters of both middling and high ability parents sent their eldest child first to an AIS. Furthermore, this initial advantage and impetus is maintained and increased over time: not only are the overall ability levels higher for parents whose eldest child was their first AIS child, but the percentage shifts show that these couples increase their ability at a faster rate i.e. they do not get "bogged down" in middling ability levels having moved from low, but rather, reach high ability levels much sooner than the other couples. The fact that 97% of the respondents aged under 35 years sent their eldest child to an AIS (compared with only 51% of the older respondents) suggests that these families are the most appropriate as regards substantially increasing home use and parental ability.

c) Home use and duration of AIS experience: Families with more than two years' AIS experience had twice the level of pre-AIS home use as those who began later (19% compared with 10% passing more than 3 items): however, by the time of interview this lead had disappeared (30%, 28%). As might be expected, mother's age is influential here as those with more than 2 years AIS experience are much older than those with shorter experience e.g. 24% compared with 7% are 45 years or older while only 25% compared with 40% are under 35 years old.

d) Home use and distance from the school: As regards higher use (more than 3 items passed), at the time of interview the least intensive home use was among those families living within a mile of the school (22%); the most intensive use was among those families living 1 to 3 miles from the school (37%); those living beyond 3 miles from the school were in between (29%): but while the higher use families living within a mile of the AIS trebled those living beyond only increased by approximately one half, so that the differences have become much smaller.

/ ....

Nevertheless, when we examine the subsequent progress of those families who failed all of the pre-AIS items and who live within a mile of the school, more than half (55%) still fail all the items, while for those living 1 to 3 miles and beyond the percentages are only 33% and 24% respectively. This indicates that those living furthest from the school have done most to increase their home use of Irish at the lower levels.

e) Home use and parental education: Before AIS participation, family home use was at least six times higher where both parents were highly educated (the wife having at worst her Leaving Certificate) e.g. 30% of these families passed more than 3 HOME-PRE items compared with only 5% of other families. Although this six-fold lead has dropped to slightly less than a threefold one in the current situation, the differences are still very great (45% compared with 16% now pass more than 3 HOMEPOST items).

f) Home use and parental occupation: This relationship mirrors almost exactly that of the parental education variable, pre-AIS high home use being five times greater where both of the parents were in the top four Hall-Jones status groups than where both parents were in the bottom three (32% to 6%) with current high home use being two and a half times as great (50% to 21%). As with the education variable (although the numbers involved there were too small for definitive conclusions to be made), the greatest increases in home use relative to their own previous levels tend to occur where one of the parents, usually the husband, is somewhat more highly educated/occupied than the other parent; however, with regard to overall levels of increase, the greatest absolute increases undoubtedly occur where both parents are highly educated/occupied e.g. current high home use is twice as high among the latter group as it is among families where only one of the parents is highly educated or highly occupied.

g) Home use and visits to the Gaeltacht: Parents from 40 of the 110 families in the survey had visited the Gaeltacht in the previous 3 to 4 years. However, parents in households where family use is high are much more likely to have visited the Gaeltacht in the recent past than other parents, e.g. 72% of those who pass more than 3 HOMEPOST items have done so compared with only 22% of the lower home users.

/ ....

In 38 of the 40 households, both parents had made the visit(s). However, only 5 of the 40 reported that the visit(s) had any connection with their involvement in all-Irish schools. Thus, whereas there is a high correlation between high home use and visits by both parents to the Gaeltacht, these visits do not follow automatically because of involvement in all-Irish schools: further research in this area could yield very interesting findings.

4.4.4 Home use and school attended: Relating our analysis thus far to our analysis by school groups in Chapter Two, it should come as no surprise to find that Group 4° scores highest in home use while Group 2° scores lowest. This was also the rank order situation before AIS participation (see Table A.14).

Table 4.17

School attended BY HOMEPOST

	SCHOOL GROUP			
Number of items passed	1	2	3	4
None	60%	41%	33%	12%
1-3 items	20%	50%	47%	40%
4-7 "	7%	4%	10%	16%
8-11 "	13%	5%	10%	32%
0-3 items	80%	91%	80%	52%
4-11 "	20%	9%	20%	48%

Furthermore, the percentage increases into HOMEPOST higher use levels (more than 3 items passed) of those who failed all of the pre-AIS home use items are highest in Group 4° and lowest in Group 2° (28% to 5%). In Chapter Two we noted that Group 2° parents were older, longer married with larger families and less likely to send their eldest child to an AIS than parents in the other schools. Also, they were less educated and had lower occupational status and parental ability. None of them lived more than three miles from the school. In addition they were the most likely group to send their child to the AIS for "non-language" reasons (see Table 3.8). Group 4° parents, on the other hand, were almost at the other extreme. These two groups, then, would seem to form polarised "ideal types".

/ ....

As regards school Groups 1^{O} and 3^{O}, the latter increased its home use levels at a much more impressive rate. While it equals Group 1^{O} in current higher use levels (20% in both groups pass more than 3 items) only half as many fail all of the items (33% to 60%). In other words, while about two thirds of the Group 3^{O} parents who failed all of the items before AIS attendance have moved upwards, the same proportion of Group 1^{O} parents still fail all of the items.

Returning to Chapter Two, we find that the two groups have almost identical profiles as regards parental education, occupational status, pre-AIS ability levels, past attendance at activities where Irish was used and family home use of Irish prior to AIS attendance. However, they differ very much on a wide range of other variables. For example, a third of Group 3^{O} husbands studied some or all of their primary school subjects through Irish compared with only 8% in Group 1^{O}. Also, all but 7% of Group 1^{O} parents sent their child to an AIS for either language OR non-language reasons whereas 43% of Group 3^{O} parents sent their child for a mixture of reasons, both language and non-language. We will return to these points later. For the moment, we will proceed to compare home use with non-home use.

4.4.5 Home use and non-home use:

Table 4.18

HOMEPOST BY EXTRAHOME (Guttman scale of Irish-speaking networks outside the contexts of the school and the immediate family)

No. of items passed EXTRAHOME	HOMEPOST				SUMMARY	
	None	1-3	4-7	8-11	0-3	4-11
None	37%	11%	-	-	22%	-
1 item	50%	30%	42%	15%	38%	25%
2 or 3 items	10%	45%	33%	35%	31%	34%
4 to 6 items	3%	14%	25%	50%	9%	41%
0-1	87%	41%	42%	15%	60%	25%
2 or more	13%	59%	58%	85%	40%	75%

/ ....

A six-item Guttman Scale has been constructed to measure family use of Irish outside the home in the same way that HOMEPOST measures family use within the home (EXTRAHOME see Chapter Five). As Table 4.18 shows, low-use households have low levels of interaction with Irish-speaking friends while high use families have extensive networks with high levels of Irish being used.

As regards contact with the school, the following should be noted. While husbands are generally less involved with the AIS than their wives, this is less likely to occur in higher use homes. Mothers in higher use homes have, since their child began attending the AIS, increased their school contact to a greater extent than mothers in lower use homes; in addition, 70% of the mothers in the highest-using homes, compared with only 30%-40% of other mothers, agreed that "the AIS has become one of my main preoccupations outside the home". Mothers and fathers in higher use homes are more involved with the AIS than parents in lower use homes i.e. as measured by at least monthly school visits for the purpose of escorting children, attending AIS-connected meetings and checking up on the child's progress. Despite this, however, and despite the fact that the AIS is, for the parents at almost all of the home use levels, the most frequently-cited closest bond between themselves and their Irish using friends, high home users (especially the husbands) tend to rely much less on the AIS than they do on the language itself or on Irish-medium recreational activities to maintain these contacts. Thus, in two notable exceptions (mother's AIS visits to check on the child's progress and to attend school meetings) more mothers from high than from low Irish-using families never visit the AIS, reflecting perhaps, a greater confidence in their own assessments and in their wider Irish-speaking friendship networks. We will return to these points in Chapter Five.

4.4.6 Family use of Irish in respondents' childhood homes

Finally, it should be noted that when the respondents themselves were growing up, only 19% of their families used Irish always or often in any of the seven interpersonal use items shown in Table 4.1. Immediately prior to their own children attending an AIS, 40% of these respondents' current families passed more than three HOME-PRE items compared with only 10% of those failing

/ ....

all of the childhood home use items. However, by the time of interview, this 40% had only increased to 45% whereas those with little or no childhood background of family use had almost trebled to 27%. Thus, substantial childhood use (in the mothers' homes at any rate) does not necessarily lead to future family use after marriage. In addition, these respondents were just as likely as anyone else to send their children to AIS for non-language reasons, while joint parental attitudes to rearing children through Irish (both before AIS attendance or at time of interview) showed no significant variation according to mothers' childhood home use.

4.5 Explaining Variation in Home Use of Irish

In an attempt to identify the relative importance of the various factors related to home use of Irish, a series of multiple regression analyses were undertaken. Because of the differences between school groups on socio-economic, spatial and linguistic criteria, it was decided to treat each school group separately, but, for consistency, the same set of explanatory variables was used in each case.

Table 4.19

Variables having most effect on home use of Irish (HOMEPOST)

	Intercorrelations (zero-order)			Variance Explained (R^2)				
					SCHOOL GROUP			
	1	2	3	TOTAL	1°	2°	3°	4°
HOMEPOST	.56	.75	.32	.64	.88	.87	.43	.72
1 Pre-AIS parental speaking ability	—	.55	.25	.31	.11	.30	.13	.39
2 Pre-AIS home use by family	—	—	.29	.28	.56	.31	.23	.25
3 Reasons for sending child to AIS	—	—	—	.01	.10	—	—	—
Combined effects of seven other variables				.04	.11	.26	.07	.08

/....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Overall, the most significant variables associated with current home use of Irish are pre-AIS parental ability and pre-AIS home use of Irish. However, whereas these two variables combined to explain over 60% of the variance in school groups 1^{o}, 2^{o} and 4^{o} (67%, 61% and 64% respectively) they explained only 36% in the case of school group 3^{o}. Furthermore, the addition of seven extra variables made no appreciable difference. This suggests that the positive performance of group 3^{o} families is due to some factor specific to the schools themselves, but not taken into account in our study. We will examine this matter in more detail in Chapter Six.

In view of the importance of pre-AIS parental speaking ability and family home use levels in explaining current home use of Irish, it is necessary to briefly comment on the factors determining these latter variables. Using a set of independent variables similar in content to those used here, it appeared that 42% of the variance in pre-AIS home use is explained primarily by three variables — parental ability (20%), reasons for sending children to AIS (9%) and attitude to rearing children through Irish in the home (5%). Pre-AIS parental ability in turn appears to be most influenced by the amount of all-Irish primary and post-primary education among the parent couples (14% of total variance) while four further variables, including the amount of Irish used in the respondents' childhood homes, only add 8% to this figure. As might be expected, each of these multiple regression analyses again revealed considerable inter-school differences.

4.6 Conclusions

The dominant theme of this chapter is positive. Viewing the overall pattern, it will be recalled that before any child attended all-Irish school, 76% of the families failed all of the home use Guttman scale items i.e. they did not use as much as 50% Irish in any home situation. Since AIS attendance by their child, however, this proportion has declined dramatically to 28% which indicates that half of the families in the survey have increased their use of Irish in the home to significant levels (almost all of the families report at least <u>some</u> increases). In addition, it should be noted that a further 13% of the families were already at the very top of the scale and by definition could not increase their scale score.

/....

An examination of the nature of the change, and the parents' own assessment of the factors generating change, leave no doubt that the child's attendance at an all-Irish school was the decisive element.

There are, naturally enough, some disappointing aspects, primarily the 28% of families who appear relatively untouched by the experience. Furthermore, there are analytical and interpretative difficulties posed by the nature of the measurements used and the degree of inter-school variation. All of these matters require further discussion but this will be withheld until Chapter Six, after we examine family use of Irish in other contexts in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE – USE OF IRISH OUTSIDE THE HOME

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Some general aspects of interaction with Irish speakers

- 5.2.1 Irish ability and use levels among families' closest friends (i) the parents, (ii) the children
- 5.2.2 Use of Irish between the children and their AIS friends outside school hours
- 5.2.3 Main types of contact situations among AIS families
  - 5.2.3.1 School-based activities
  - 5.2.3.2 Interhousehold visits
  - 5.2.3.3 Other contexts

5.3 The role of the all-Irish school

- 5.3.1 Most common bond with Irish-speaking friends
- 5.3.2 How Irish-speaking friends were met
- 5.3.3 Evidence of pre-AIS networks
- 5.3.4 Attempts to interest others in all-Irish schooling
- 5.3.5 Summary

5.4 Variations between school groups

5.5 Factors associated with social use of Irish

- 5.5.1 Construction of Guttman scale of social use
- 5.5.2 Home use of Irish
- 5.5.3 Parental attitudes
- 5.5.4 Parental ability
- 5.5.5 Sociodemographic factors

5.6 Explaining variation

5.7 Conclusions

CHAPTER FIVE: USE OF IRISH OUTSIDE THE HOME

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with use of Irish by respondents and their families in situations other than their own homes. Areas covered include social, recreational and neighbourhood use of Irish, as well as parental participation in school-based activities. It attempts, primarily, to answer the following questions – with particular reference to the role of the AIS in each case:-

(a) to what extent do Irish-speaking networks actually exist?
(b) how many respondents feel themselves part of an Irish-speaking network?
(c) to what extent do they identify and interact with this network?
(d) what role, if any, does the husband play (either alone or with his wife) in this regard?
(e) what roles do the children (and not only the AIS children) play?
(f) how are these networks formed, maintained and extended?

It will be seen that we are dealing here with a very wide area: in fact, one of our greatest problems is the variety and bulk of the material which we have collected, across which much overlapping inevitably occurs. It was realised from the beginning that many problems would arise, but on the whole, these were short-circuited on the basis of the pilot interviews. Nevertheless, problems remain.

One of the main drawbacks is the extent to which people's interaction through Irish is related to their overall interaction. For example, if a husband never moves outside the house after teatime, or if a wife does most of her socialising over the telephone, it can hardly be remarkable that they do not meet Irish speakers in recreational settings. While we have tried our best to minimise these problems, an hour-long interview could not possibly cope with all of the variables and nuances involved. Thus, reference will be made at appropriate points in the following pages to particular problems encountered.

/ ....

5.2 Some general aspects of interaction with Irish speakers

5.2.1 Irish ability and general use levels among respondents' families' closest friends

We might begin this section by taking a look at what the respondents felt to be the overall standard and use of Irish among the greatest proportion of their "closest" friends and those of other members of their families. We took the deliberate decision to define "closest" friends in terms of those most regularly met so that the amount of Irish normally used would not be over-distorted by, for example, childhood confidants whom one would meet perhaps only once or twice a year.

(i) The parents' friends:

Table 5.1

Standard and use of Irish profile of the majority of respondent's closest friends, as well as those of her husband and their joint (in common) friends

			Own friends (N=110)		Husbands' friends (N=110)		Common friends (N=110)	
A. STANDARD BY USE	Good	Often	13%	18%	20%	28%	12%	19%
		Rarely	4%		4%		7%	
		Never	1%		1%		-	
	Middling	Often	6%	32%	8%	25%	10%	34%
		Rarely	15%		8%		18%	
		Never	11%		9%		6%	
	Very little	Often	3%	42%	-	41%	1%	40%
		Rarely	13%		11%		11%	
		Never	26%		30%		28%	
	Have no Irish/couldn't say			8%		6%		7%
B. USE BY STANDARD	Often	Good	13%	22%	20%	28%	12%	23%
		Middling	6%		8%		10%	
		Very little	3%		-		1%	
	Rarely	Good	4%	32%	4%	23%	7%	36%
		Middling	15%		8%		18%	
		Very little	13%		11%		11%	
	Never	Good	1%	36%	1%	40%	-	34%
		Middling	11%		9%		6%	
		Very little	26%		30%		28%	
	Have no Irish/couldn't say			8%		6%		7%

....

About half of the respondents claim that the majority of their own closest friends, their husbands' friends and their joint friends (common to them both as a couple) have "good to middling" Irish ability (Table 5.1A). If the respondents' impressions are true, this reflects a very high level of Irish among their closest friends and should be reflected in higher than normal use levels. This in fact proves to be case as at least one fifth of the respondents see the greatest proportion of their own and their husbands' friends as being frequent users of Irish (Table 5.1B). It is also remarkable that the vast majority of their friends who have "good" Irish use it "often" although the extent to which the ability of those who rarely or never use Irish has been misjudged due to their low use is impossible to say. Furthermore, the fact that husbands tend to operate friendship networks independent of their wives (see below) might explain the somewhat higher ability and use levels attributed to their husbands' personal friends.

(ii) The children's friends: As well as asking about the parents' friends, the same question was asked with regard to (a) the first child in the family to attend an all-Irish school, and (b) the eldest child in the family if he/she did not attend an all-Irish school (this explains why the "eldest child" percentages are based on 39 instead of 110). Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that as well as being very different from each other as regards high ability and high use, the two groups of children also fall far to either side of the parents' high use levels. When we consider that the 1st AIS child's friends relate to those outside school hours (interviewers were told to ask in terms of who the child would play with at weekends or on a holiday from school), the difference becomes all the more remarkable as it shows the extent to which school-based friendships continue into neighbourhood friendships; however, respondents probably did not succeed in making this inside/outside school distinction in all cases as the comparison with replies to other questions shows*.

Accepting for the moment the reported figures for these two groups of children, it is clear that the friends of non-AIS-attending eldest children

---

* For example: whereas Table 5.2B reports that the majority of friends of 40 of the 110 AIS children (36%) have good Irish and use it often, Table 5.5 shows that only 10 of these 110 children play with other AIS children outside school and use at least 50% Irish with them.

/ ....

Table 5.2

Standard and use of Irish profile of the majority of the closest friends of the first AIS child and of the eldest child (if not attending AIS)

			Eldest non-AIS child's friends (N=39)		Friends of first AIS child (N=110)	
A. STANDARD BY USE	Good	Often	8%	23%	36%	48%
		Rarely	7%		6%	
		Never	8%		6%	
	Middling	Often	3%	36%	6%	14%
		Rarely	18%		5%	
		Never	15%		3%	
	Very little	Often	-	31%	3%	34%
		Rarely	8%		7%	
		Never	23%		24%	
	Have no Irish/couldn't say			10%		4%
B. USE BY STANDARD	Often	Good	8%	11%	36%	45%
		Middling	3%		6%	
		Very little	-		3%	
	Rarely	Good	7%	33%	6%	18%
		Middling	18%		5%	
		Very little	8%		7%	
	Never	Good	8%	46%	6%	33%
		Middling	15%		3%	
		Very little	23%		24%	
	Have no Irish/couldn't say			10%		4%

use far less Irish than the friends of the AIS parents, even though their overall ability levels are up to 10% higher. However, it could be that the respondents either overestimate the ability of their eldest child's friends or else underestimate their eldest child's own ability as a comparison with the following table suggests.

/ ....

Table 5.3

Present speaking ability of respondents' family

Ability	Self	Spouse	Eldest child	1st AIS child
Low: No Irish/Odd word	10%	16%	29%	1%
Mid: Few sentences/parts of conversations	50%	44%	53%	30%
High: Most conversations/ Native ability	40%	40%	18%	69%
Total	110	110	39	110

5.2.2 Use of Irish between respondents' AIS children and their friends from the same school OUTSIDE school hours: One of the most difficult questions for respondents was to calculate the proportion of their AIS children's after-school-hours regular local playmates who attended the same AIS and the amount of Irish that they would normally use while playing together with the respondents' children.

Table 5.4

Proportion of after-school regular playmates who attend the same AIS as respondents' children (cumulative %s in brackets)

Proportion	1st AIS child (N=107)		2nd AIS child (N=69)		3rd AIS child (N=13)	
All	2%	(2%)	3%	(3%)	15%	(15%)
Most	6%	(8%)	6%	(9%)	8%	(23%)
50/50	5%	(13%)	7%	(16%)	8%	(31%)
Some	34%	(47%)	35%	(51%)	8%	(39%)
None	53%	(100%)	49%	(100%)	61%	(100%)

Table 5.4 shows that, on average, half of the children at AIS have at least some friends from the same school with whom they play after school and on weekends etc. However, in very many cases, this "some" refers to only one friend from the same school while in others it refers to three or four or perhaps more. There are a number of impinging factors here.

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Firstly, the actual number of friends with whom the child normally plays e.g. 3 AIS friends out of a total of 5 friends is much more significant than 3 out of 15, while one out of two, or even one of one, is more significant still. Secondly, the break-off point between playing on the way home from school and say, the period after tea, is often quite blurred as regards the personnel involved: overlapping may occur, but not necessarily. Thirdly, the intensity of the relationship between the different personnel is impossible to define with accuracy. Fourthly, the area in which the family lives may be far from the school and/or fairly isolated as regards other all-Irish school families; thus there may be no opportunity for the child to play with other children from the same school.

Bearing these points in mind, we should be wary of reading too much into the figures provided by the mothers; nevertheless, by wording the question as it is (i.e. regular, local) and with the additional interviewer instruction to stress the fact that what was required was those children with whom the AIS children would play on a day off school, we feel we have short-circuited these problems to the best of our ability. While there seems to be little difference between the friendship profiles of the 1st and 2nd AIS children, the impact seems to be greater with the 3rd child (three times higher at the all/most level) although this might be explained by the low number (13) involved. This low number makes further reference to the 3rd AIS child inadvisable in this report but suggests it as an interesting variable for further study.

Table 5.5

Amount of Irish normally used at play between respondents' AIS children and those who attend the same AIS

Amount	1st AIS child		2nd AIS child	
All	-	-	3%	(3%)
Most	4%	(4%)	6%	(9%)
50/50	12%	(16%)	14%	(23%)
Some	44%	(60%)	37%	(60%)
None	40%	(100%)	40%	(100%)
	N = 50		N = 35	

/ ....

Given that the figures in Table 5.5 only refer to use of Irish with those friends of the AIS child attending the same school, it is remarkable that only 4% of the 1st AIS children use more Irish than English while playing outside school with their AIS schoolmates. Whereas the figures for the 2nd eldest child are twice as high at this point, the gap is quickly closed, leaving as many as 40% of 1st and 2nd AIS children's regular local playmates from the same school who never use Irish when playing outside school. However, the fact that 60% use at least some Irish is encouraging as this use of Irish would be, for the most part, voluntary and spontaneous.

Table 5.6 lists the reasons given by respondents for the low use of Irish of those who use 50% or less Irish while playing with their AIS playmates outside school hours. It is immediately obvious that inadequate Irish ability is seen as the main obstacle. For both the 1st and 2nd AIS children the inadequate Irish of their friends accounts for 50% of the low use. This indicates the presence of many non-AIS children in the playing groups, an interpretation which is reinforced by the fact that (a) the closest friends of 52% of the 1st AIS children had not got good Irish (Table 5.2A) and (b) that nobody gave embarrassment on the part of AIS friends alone as the reason for low use.

Table 5.6

Reasons for low use of Irish among those with 50% or lower use of Irish with their AIS playmates

Reasons for low use	1st AIS child		2nd AIS child	
Inadequate Irish – own child	15%		6%	
" " – child's friends	50%	71%	50%	66%
" " – own plus friends	6%		10%	
Embarrassment – own child	11%		10%	
" – child's friends	-	19%	-	16%
" – own plus friends	8%		6%	
Laziness		4%		9%
"Bilingualism sufficient – it's not low"		6%		9%
	N = 48		N = 32	

/ ....

5.2.3 Main types of contact situations

5.2.3.1 Use of Irish in school-based activities: Use of Irish in school-based activities is potentially a very wide area indeed. Information was collected from each respondent with regard to participation in a list of specified activities (provided by the school principals) by herself alone, her husband alone, as well as their joint participation; a miscellaneous "other" category covered non-listed contacts with the school. Data was collected in each case as to the frequency of visits to the school, the language normally used while there and the degree of difficulty experienced with this level of Irish. This information is presented in the following pages.

The first point to note is that in practice the range of widely attended activities is fairly limited and that school contact in frequency terms obviously depends on the nature and frequency of the activity (e.g. one cannot attend school concerts except when they are being staged): thus a seemingly infinitesimal frequency of attendance may hide the maximum feasible participation in a given activity in a given school.

Secondly, many activities overlap (e.g. collecting children from the school and checking up on their progress) so that there are bound to be some "grey" areas. Therefore, whenever it occurred that a man and/or his wife attended two or more types of activity under the same general heading these were coded separately. This was seen as being preferable to lumping the two activities together as (1) it indicated a wider range of activities while (2) it made allowance for the fact that more Irish might be used at one activity rather than the other.

Thirdly, the time factor can be very important. For example, with regard to AIS-based Irish Language Classes, there were an additional 15 cases (at least) of respondents and/or their husbands who either (a) attended last year but are not attending this year, (b) intend to attend next year, or, (c) have not attended or will not attend for a variety of other reasons, e.g. tried to set up Irish classes but other parents were not interested, or wife reluctant to attend because she would feel awkward without her husband who has no interest in classes. Thus, in this instance, the reasons range (over time and school-specific circumstances) through indifference, adequate Irish

/ ....

already, absence of classes and embarrassment. This example illustrates that the responses to questions of this type will vary according to the time of survey and that some activities appear to wax and wane fairly rapidly. These additional cases may also explain much of the inter-school variation.

A. ACTIVITIES NOT CRUCIAL TO THE CHILD'S EDUCATION AND/OR THE SCHOOL

Bearing these points in mind, we find that over 90% of respondents and their husbands do not currently attend the AIS for Irish classes, nor indeed for any other adult classes, nor for any non-school connected activities which make use of school buildings*. In addition, the residual "other" category also has less than 10% applicability for our respondents and their spouses. In only one case among the small group of participating parents is less Irish than English used and little or no difficulty is experienced by either parent with the level of Irish used on these occasions. More mothers than fathers participate in these school activities and, among those who do participate, the mothers attend more often.

In conclusion, although the schools are not equally represented as regards numbers interviewed, it emerges that two schools in particular have found alternative means of successfully attracting parents to come to the school (other schools reflect these trends to varying degrees): one has succeeded in attracting parents by providing a wide variety of activities while the other has concentrated successfully on one area, namely, the parents' interest in matters relating to religion. (This had been expected arising out of the pilot interviews with AIS principals). Incidentally, while the principals in some of the other schools tended to blame low parental participation on the lack of physical facilities, the evidence suggests that while a well-equipped school hall has obvious advantages, (a) its presence alone is not sufficient to attract parents to the school and (b) sufficiently motivated parents will attend school concerts, meetings etc. despite almost primitive physical conditions.

---

* Examples from the survey include; mothers' groups, drama groups, residents' associations, scout groups, céilís and céilí classes, scripture classes and school Masses, helping out with school maintenance and with swimming, sports and tin whistle classes for the children.

/ ....

B. SCHOOL/CHILD – SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

(a) Escorting children to/from the AIS: The main activity which entails a high proportion of parents going to the school on anything like a frequent basis is that of escorting the children to or from the school. This involves 58% of the mothers paying at least one visit per month to the school whereas over one third of the mothers visit the school daily. The fact that another third of the mothers never attend the school for these purposes is explained by a variety of factors e.g. rank and age of child, distance from the school, travel arrangements and domestic arrangements.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that almost half (47%) of the fathers perform this task at some stage during the year while as many as 43% do so at least monthly. Thus we have a very high rate of contact with the school, with almost 6 in 10 mothers and over 4 in 10 fathers in contact with the school at least once a month.

As to the language used while they are there, almost half of the attending mothers (48%) and over a third of the attending fathers (37%) use more Irish than English. In general, there would appear to be a clear relationship between ability and use of Irish. However, we might note some interesting cases which appear to be at variance with this general pattern. When one considers that a third of mothers (31%) who use more Irish than English on these occasions report only middling speaking ability (a few simple sentences or parts of conversations), then it can be said that these mothers are making an effort that would appear to be disproportionate to their level of ability. However, although certain women without high ability may be making an effort to use it intensively, as many as 20% of the highest ability mothers do not use more Irish than English while half (53%) of those with middling ability use less than 50% Irish.

Finally, we might note that only 18% of all those mothers who attend the school in a child-escort capacity and 14% of the fathers reported any difficulty whatsoever with the level of Irish used.

(b) Checking the children's progress: We have already referred to the difficulties involved in trying to differentiate this activity from other activities, especially the previous one. Nevertheless, at least one mother

/ ....

in four visits the school specifically for this purpose monthly or more often while exactly the same proportion of mothers never visit the school (alone, at any rate). Many of those who rarely or never attend either confine their attendance to the annual PTA meeting/AGM or else combine the progress check with some other activity where teachers are met, while others never attend because they know a teacher (neighbour, relation etc.) and so feel no need to make a special journey to the school. While less than 5% of the fathers visit at least once a month and 80% never visit the school alone, nevertheless in over a quarter of the families (28%), both parents together attend sometime during the year specifically to check up on their child(ren)'s progress.

As regards the language used, once again, whereas a substantial 21% of middling ability mothers use more Irish than English on these occasions, an even greater percentage (31%) of high ability mothers (and fathers) do not make the fullest use of their ability, i.e. they use, at most, 50% Irish.

(c) Viewing or 'helping out with' child(ren)'s concerts, exhibitions etc.: This is an activity which is dependent to a large extent on the particular school and the regularity of concerts, drama etc. which are staged there. It is also different from escorting children and checking on their school performance in that it is a recreational activity and thus both parents attend together as a family unit to a much greater extent (55% of all couples attend at sometime or other as a couple while 70% of wives and 90% of husbands never attend on their own). The vast majority of those who attend do so "a few times a year".

As regards the language used at concerts etc. it is quite interesting to note a remarkable decrease in the amount of English used in comparison with the two previous activities. This is obviously a result of a parent audience being presented with an all-Irish show by the teachers and pupils, which automatically limits their use of English. In fact, in no case did either a man or his wife use "all-English" when attending on his/her own whereas in a small number of couples (4 out of 60) "all-English" was used. This is not at all surprising: in fact one would expect use of English by couples to be much higher as this activity was especially singled out by respondents as the activity with which they and their husbands experience the most difficulty – 45% of husbands and 44% of wives attending on their own

/ ....

experience at least some difficulty following the proceedings and, even when together, 42% of the couples still find it difficult.

The effects of this intensive exposure to Irish on the attendance figures of those 60% of wives and 60% of husbands, whose standard of spoken Irish is, at best "parts of conversations" are very difficult to assess. In addition to the points made above, there are the additional questions of (a) standard of Irish used at the concerts (presumably fairly low given the children's ages), (b) overlapping ability levels among the parents (e.g. half of the high ability husbands and wives have spouses with a lower standard thus enabling one to help the other) and (c) overall attendance levels and husband/wife differences (which for this activity are quite low and quite wide respectively).

(d) Attendance at school-connected meetings (fundraising etc.): This is the third most frequently indulged in school-based activity for the wives when they attend alone, while for both husbands and wives together and for husbands attending on their own it is in second place.

It was originally intended to confine this activity to persons who were members of some specific committee but the pilot survey proved this to be impractical for a variety of reasons e.g. used to be but no longer a member; tried to join but was too late; no committees constituted as yet in (new) school etc. Thus, while the present figures include all of those respondents and their husbands currently serving on school-connected committees, it also includes a large number of people who simply attend sales of work for fund-raising and suchlike functions. As mentioned previously, where people attend two or more of these functions, they have been coded under another vacant heading closely related to it.

The overall attendance rates for both groups are uniformly low up as far as the monthly level (less than 5% attend more than monthly). From this point onwards, however, twice as many wives as husbands attend these meetings. The vast majority of attending couples attend "a few times a year", at which point their cumulative attendance (at 38%) almost doubles that of husbands and is only 10% behind that of wives.

However, in spite of these differences in attendance figures, the

/ ....

husbands who attend use much more Irish than the wives (60% compared with 39% use more Irish than English) while the degree of difficulty experienced with the language used is as low, for both husbands and wives, as that experienced by them when escorting their children to/from school and when checking up on their child's progress (approximately 20%). These figures seem to indicate that husbands are less interested in the children (leaving progress checks and concerts etc. to the wives) and more interested in the AIS as an institution to be supported and maintained.

This is shown more clearly perhaps in the following summary table which gives the overall rank-ordering of AIS attendance at the four main activities by wives, husbands and couples – regardless of actual frequency and amount of Irish used.

Table 5.7

Overall rank-ordering of AIS parental attendance (regardless of actual frequencies) at the four main activities based in the AIS*

Activity \ Attended by	Self R/O		Husband R/O		Difference	Couples R/O	
Escorting children	2	(66%)	1	(46%)	(20%)	4	(8%)
Checking progress	1	(76%)	3	(20%)	(56%)	3	(28%)
Helping/viewing concerts etc.	4	(30%)	4	(10%)	(20%)	1	(55%)
School-connected meetings	3	(54%)	2	(27%)	(27%)	2	(44%)

This table suggests that in terms of overall attendance, regardless of activity and frequency, many more wives than husbands visit the all-Irish school. Thus, as regards lone attendance, between 20% and 56% more wives than husbands visit the AIS for these purposes.

As regards attendance by couples, it is apparent from the top two rows of the table that joint attendance by husbands and wives does not and cannot significantly increase the level of husband attendance, although,

---

*Percentages of each group are in brackets: all percentages are based on the total respondents: they equal 100% minus the percentage who never attend a particular activity.

with regard to the two bottom rows, there is a marked increase in the husbands' participation rates. However, it still remains true that at the very least, 30% of husbands never visit the all-Irish school for any of these purposes, either alone, or with their wives or children.

At the other end of the scale, there is a proportion of husbands (probably closer to 10% than to 20%) who are very "involved" with the AIS. For example, respondents were asked to compare the AIS involvement of themselves and their husbands with that of the other parents. As we specifically excluded escorting children to or from the school, this comparison should measure "committed involvement" to a greater extent than if we had included it. Thus we find that between 15% and 20% of the respondents and the husbands were felt by the respondents to be more involved than other parents with the AIS. On the other hand, however, twice as many husbands as wives (36% to 17%) were seen as being less involved than other parents.

Respondents were also asked to compare their involvement specifically with that of their husbands and the following replies were recorded (the child escort function is excluded here also):

Wife is more involved than husband	56%
Wife's involvement the same as husband's	36%
Wife is less involved than husband	8%

These figures prove quite conclusively that the respondents see themselves as being the principal link with the AIS. (The fact that escorting children to or from the school was excluded makes no difference as we have already seen that 20% less husbands than wives perform this task). This has clear policy implications, when taken in conjunction with other data throughout the report. It suggests that, apart from a minority (ca. 10%) of actively involved husbands, it is the wife who in most cases initially suggests all-Irish education for the child, and subsequently plays the major role of go-between with the school on all but those occasions (e.g. concerts) which tend to draw both parents as a couple to the AIS.

/ ....

5.2.3.2 Interhousehold visits by AIS families: The following table gives the replies to the question: "How often would you, your husband or your children visit other homes and speak Irish exclusively or almost exclusively while there (or vice-versa, they visit you)?"

Table 5.8

Frequency of interhousehold visits by AIS families and other Irish speakers during which Irish is the predominant language used (cumulative percentages in brackets)

Frequency	Self		Husband		Both		Eldest		1st AIS	
Daily	1%	(1%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%	(1%)
More than weekly	4%	(5%)	2%	(2%)	1%	(1%)	-	-	6%	(7%)
Weekly	7%	(12%)	7%	(9%)	3%	(4%)	-	-	18%	(25%)
Fortnightly	2%	(14%)	2%	(11%)	2%	(6%)	3%	(3%)	7%	(32%)
Monthly	6%	(20%)	8%	(19%)	6%	(12%)	2%	(5%)	9%	(41%)
Few times yearly	7%	(27%)	12%	(31%)	12%	(24%)	3%	(8%)	9%	(50%)
Very rarely	16%	(43%)	10%	(41%)	15%	(39%)	10%	(18%)	11%	(61%)
Never	57%	(100%)	59%	(100%)	61%	(100%)	82%	(100%)	39%	(100%)
	N=110		N=110		N=110		N=39		N=110	

(i) The parents: From Table 5.8 we can note that whereas the "never" category averages about 60%, the numbers in the monthly-or-more-often category are also very high, averaging about one in five for husbands and for wives separately with a drop to about one in eight for couples. It is clear that the mothers themselves see this as being a high level of contact as 28% of them said that they generally meet their Irish speaking friends more often than their other close friends, yet only two respondents mentioned physical proximity as being the most common bond between themselves, their husbands and their Irish speaking friends.

(ii) The children: As in Section 5.2.1 above, when we turn to the children, the figures again fall far to either side of the parents. The monthly cumulative figures show an eight-fold difference between the eldest non-AIS child and the first child to attend an AIS, with the parents about mid-way between them. The weekly-and-more-often figures emphasise these differences even more sharply as none of the eldest non-AIS children maintain this level of contact, while the parents' levels are at least twice as low as those of their first child to attend an all-Irish school. Thus, the findings so far tend to reinforce each other and point quite clearly to a very positive link between contact with and attendance at an all-Irish school and the growth of networks of Irish-using friends.

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

5.2.3.3 Other contexts in which parents meet Irish speakers

Four fifths of the respondents (78%) reported that, apart from visits to the school or to other people's homes, they and/or their husbands would meet what they described as "Irish speakers" at some stage or other. They were then asked about these occasions as regards frequency, language used, whether the meetings occurred by chance or by appointment and whether the activity itself was organised or ad-hoc. No single activity came anywhere near the "general" contact figure of 78%, the closest being recreational activities (56%) followed by casual neighbourhood encounters (40%). These apart, there is no other context – with the possible exception of after-hours work-related meetings (15%). – in which significant numbers of parents meet other Irish speakers. Nevertheless, the numbers involved in the above-mentioned activities are quite substantial; a third of the mothers and/or fathers of the children attending all-Irish schools meet someone at least once a month either casually in the street or in recreational contexts whom they identify as being Irish speakers, while 20%-25% do so at least weekly.

As to the language used on these occasions, only 30% in each activity use no Irish at all, while in the casual neighbourhood encounters as many as 43% use more Irish than English. It is interesting to compare this 43% with the corresponding 15% under recreational activities as one would expect the percentages to be reversed, given (a) that all of the neighbourhood encounters are "by chance" and unorganised, compared with only 20% to 25% of the recreational activities and (b) that 29% of respondents and 36% of their husbands currently attend organised activities outside the school (not necessarily recreational) where Irish is used. What appears to be happening is that attendance at these organised activities is falling (twice as fast among wives as among husbands) and that the AIS with its associated networks is "filling the gap". Thus, although it undoubtedly leads to increased interaction with Irish speakers in other contexts, AIS attendance cannot be said to lead to increased participation in formal organised Irish using activities e.g. only 5% of parents now attend organised activities who did not do so formerly, compared with 9% of husbands and 17% of wives who have ceased to attend since AIS attendance, and the number of households where neither

/ ....

parent attends has increased from 50% to 60%. However, it should be mentioned that the formal organised activities on which these figures are based ranged from Club an Chonradh a few times weekly to annual attendance at GAA dinner-dances and suchlike functions.

One final point is worthy of note: 22% of both husbands and wives were claimed neither to attend any organised Irish using functions nor to meet any Irish speakers at all outside the context of the school itself. This percentage of non-involved parents will be met again in the following pages.

5.3 The role of the AIS

5.3.1 The most common bond between AIS parents and their Irish-speaking friends

It is clear from this table that the all-Irish school has definitely achieved for, and been ascribed by, the parents the role of central focus in relation to maintaining an Irish-speaking network. Recreational activities comes a poor second while the Irish language per se, divorced from the school context, gives an indication of its minority appeal.

Table 5.9

The most common bond (apart from personality factors) holding respondents', their husbands' and their joint Irish-speaking friends together

The most common bond	Own friends	Husband's friends	Common friends
The all-Irish school	49%	37%	44%
Recreational activities	15%	17%	19%
The Irish language	8%	16%	8%
Work-related	-	5%	1%
Physical proximity	2%	1%	1%
Relations/In-laws	1%	1%	2%
Other miscellaneous	3%	3%	3%
N.A./None/No Irish-speaking friends etc.	22%	20%	22%
	N=110	N=110	N=110

Other points of note in this table are (a) the minimal importance of any other cementing force in close friendships with Irish speakers, (b) the stronger representation of husbands in the Irish language and Work-related categories as opposed to the school and (c) the high proportion of those in

/ ....

the bottom category who insisted that they had no Irish-speaking friends as such only, at best, acquaintances (22%). Furthermore, there is strong evidence to suggest that this varies according to distance of residence from the school: those living within a one-mile radius of the AIS are (at ca. 30%) twice as likely as other parents to have no Irish-speaking friends at all, to have almost identical husband-wife-couple friendship profiles, and to be no more likely to see the AIS – rather than some other context – as the central bond between themselves and their Irish-speaking friends. As one moves further away from the school, however, the wives rely increasingly on the AIS to maintain contact with their Irish-speaking friends while the husbands tend to rely much more on non-AIS-connected contexts such as recreation, language organisations etc., participating in networks of Irish-speaking friends independent of those of their wives. Despite this latter tendency, however, the reliance of couples on the AIS increases steadily the further the distance between the home and the AIS.

5.3.2 How AIS parents met their Irish-speaking friends

Table 5.10

Contexts in which respondents and their husbands met most of their Irish-speaking friends on coming to live in their present area of residence*

CONTEXT	Self	Spouse
The all-Irish school	72%	64%
Cultural activities	14%	11%
Through previous contacts/relations	14%	14%
Shopping/on the street/bus stop etc.	6%	5%
Irish language activities	5%	6%
Through work/sports/pubs	6%	14%

*Notes: (i) A constant 21% throughout the question insisted that they had no Irish-speaking friends as such, only (at most) acquaintances.

(ii) These categories, while intended to be exclusive of each other, in fact contain a certain amount of overlapping due to respondents being unable to give absolute precedence to one context only; this occurred principally with regard to the AIS plus one of the others.

(iii) An additional 3% of respondents and/or their husbands were coded as "not applicable" due to the fact of their living in the same area since birth.

/ ....

This table more or less duplicates and confirms the findings of the previous table, the all-Irish school obviously being the main context in which the parents met most of their new Irish-speaking friends. Again, the husbands tend to have friends in a greater variety of domains while the wives tend to meet more of their new Irish-speaking friends through the school. Furthermore, this variable is highly significantly related to AIS visits, and particularly to AIS participation as represented by attendance at AIS-connected meetings (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11

Whether or not respondents gave the AIS as the main context in which they met the majority of their new Irish-speaking friends BY purpose and frequency of visits to the school

Purpose	Frequency	Met through AIS (N=79)	Met elsewhere and/or have no Irish-speaking friends (N=30)
Escort child	At least monthly	65%	43%
Check on progress	At least monthly	29%	13%
School meetings	At least monthly	23%	-
Concerts, exhibitions	Attend at all	34%	20%

An additional point worth mentioning here is that a significant minority of the mothers (18%) said that they had had difficulties making new friends (regardless of language) on first arriving in their present locality. This is quite significant and would seem to merit further study as the reasons related mainly to anomie. Also, a small number of wives made reference at different points in the questionnaire to their husbands' reticence to engage in social life outside the home (e.g. three wives gave shyness on the part of their spouses as the reason why they attend the school more often than their husbands).

To what extent this rather unexplored area has a bearing on other variables it is not possible to say with any precision, but the indications certainly point in the direction of the all-Irish school having a

/ ....

contribution and an importance far beyond its basic aim of educating children through Irish. It is certainly true as regards meeting Irish speakers, as we have seen, and this is further confirmed by the 63% of respondents who said that, apart from visits to the AIS, they meet more Irish speakers now than they would have had they not decided to send their child to an all-Irish school (the figure for husbands was 55%, the difference probably being explained by the wider range of husband-domains referred to earlier).

Furthermore, of the wives who said that the school had had this effect, 79% said that their general ability level had increased while 91% said that their general use level had increased as a result. In addition, the school-based network seems to take on a momentum of its own as 66% of respondents say that there has been an increase in their contact with other AIS families over their period of involvement with the AIS compared with 55% whose contact with the school has increased over the same period. In fact, 8% of respondents decreased their school interaction compared with a 3% drop in contact with other AIS families during this time. The reasons for the drop relate mainly to the children and/or the school "settling down" or becoming more independent, and to domestic reasons e.g. young babies. Only 3 respondents blamed disenchantment with the school, the reason being the "clique-in-charge-of-everything" from which they felt excluded.

5.3.3 Evidence of pre-AIS networks: Another area where the community impact of the AIS can be seen is the reputation of the school among people known to respondents and their husbands prior to their sending their child to the AIS. Four main questions were asked in this regard.

The first of these was "who first thought of or suggested sending your child to an AIS?" Nine per cent gave neighbours/friends/relations with children already at AIS as being the first to suggest this course, with an additional two per cent naming local non-AIS teachers and a further 4% giving an AIS canvasser as their "catalyst". Thus, about 15% of the respondents had all-Irish education suggested to they by others with a knowledge of an AIS. However, it should be noted that the initial impetus came from within the family in over 80% of the cases; either from the mother (36%), the father (26%) or a 'natural decision" by both parents together (17%). In only two families did the child make the suggestion.

/....

Secondly, when asked whom else they and their husbands had consulted before finally deciding to send their child, 49% replied that they had consulted nobody at all outside the immediate family. Of the remainder, 23% consulted parents with children already attending the AIS they eventually chose*, 21% consulted teachers in the school and 13% consulted parents with children at a different AIS (figures exclusive). No other single person or group was consulted by as many as 10% of our families.

Thirdly, among the main arguments used when discussing in principle whether or not to send their child to an AIS, 14% mentioned the atmosphere known to prevail in the school — no snobbery, parents involved, children well behaved etc. -- while 8% mentioned the school's educational record and 4% mentioned its "general reputation" as having been strongly recommended by others with experience of the school.

Finally, when discussing the actual AIS to which to send their child, the figures are stronger again. (The previous question referred to all-Irish education in general). Among the often overlapping factors discussed by the parents were the "atmosphere" believed to prevail in the school (58%), the commitment of the teachers (47%), the school's general status or reputation in the community (26%) and the school's educational record (25%). Many other arguments debated by the parents could also, to an unknown extent, be regarded as being due to the reputation of the school in the community; however, 25% of the respondents specified one of the four above-mentioned factors or the recommendation of some particular friend, relation or canvasser as being the "crunch factor" in deciding them in favour of the particular AIS which they chose, which is very close to the 30% who said that they had persuaded others to follow their example by sending their own children to an AIS (see below). Thus, it is obvious that other AIS parents have strongly influenced at least a quarter of the present respondents to enrol their children in the AIS while at least 30% of the respondents in turn have been responsible for drawing additional parents to all-Irish schooling.

---

*In fact, parents with children at the chosen AIS were the main influence for 16% of all the respondents, while only 11% gave AIS teachers as the main influence, no other person or group scoring higher than 4%.

/ ....

5.3.4 Respondents' attempts to interest others in all-Irish school/ing: Two criteria by which the respondents' commitment to the all-Irish school and to all-Irish education in general can be measured are the efforts they have made to introduce others into the school network and to interest others in all-Irish education for their children. Information on both of these was collected.

Slightly over half (53%) of the respondents have made efforts to interest other parents in an all-Irish education for their children. While it follows that almost the same proportion did not make any effort in this regard it is nevertheless quite remarkable that 57% of those who tried actually succeeded in their efforts, with an extra 17% who cannot be sure at this stage whether they succeeded or not. In other words, 30% of all the respondents were definitely successful in enticing other parents to send their children to an all-Irish school. Nor is this the full story, as many of these 30% persuaded more than one family to follow their example. The highest success rate was among friends (53% of the "successes") followed by neighbours (33%) with relations (14%) in third place. As regards the 'failures', the order again was friends (53%), neighbours (35%) and relations (12%) – an almost identical pattern which clearly demonstrates that personal friends are approached to a much greater extent than either neighbours or relations. The reasons given for the failures were lack of interest (59%); inaccessibility (14%); adverse effects on child (14%); parents' own level of Irish too low to assist child (6%) and wife over-ruled by husband (6%). Although the base-numbers for these percentages are quite low (30 successes and 17 failures) they give a clear indication of the type of variables involved, thus again, suggesting further study in this area.

The second criterion mentioned above refers to respondents introducing people not connected with the AIS to those already in the school network. Almost a quarter of the respondents (24%) have played this role of go-between, the results of which we have partly seen already. Once again, friends, neighbours and relations are involved and these in turn have been introduced to AIS parents and to teachers, have been referred to a school canvasser and been brought along to concerts and suchlike functions in the school.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that three quarters of the respondents have never actually introduced people not connected with the AIS to those within the network.

/ ....

5.3.5 Summary: We may conclude this section, therefore, by stating quite categorically that networks do arise from attendance at all-Irish schools, that these networks are self-generating and that they tend to assume greater importance the further one lives from the school. This applies more to wives than to husbands but the AIS remains, for both groups, the most important stimulus for forming, maintaining and expanding Irish-speaking networks among our families. However, for approximately one fifth of the parents, these extra-AIS networks have no meaning whatsoever either in mind or in fact.

As to the children, actual attendance at an AIS would seem to be crucial to the growth of Irish-speaking networks as the comparative data on older non-AIS children clearly shows, while, with regard to the AIS-attending children, we can state that, as a result of their attendance, for approximately half of them

(a) most of their friends have good Irish;
(b) most of their friends use Irish often;
(c) they play with AIS schoolmates outside school hours.

Finally, we may tentatively conclude that AIS attenders with one or two older AIS siblings seem more likely to have greater proportions of AIS schoolmates as local playmates; and that, of those who use Irish while playing together, the intensity of use seems also to increase with the second and subsequent AIS children. Much more thorough research would be needed, however, before this could be proven beyond a reasonable doubt.

5.4 Variations between school groups

From a series of crosstabulations – far too numerous to report in detail – it emerges very clearly that families attending School Groups 1^{o} and 2^{o} are very much less involved in Irish-speaking networks than families in the other school groups. (For example, about 40% of the parents in Groups 1^{o} and 2^{o} claim to have no Irish-speaking friends at all compared with ca. 20% in Group 3^{o} and only 7% in Group 4^{o}). They rarely meet Irish speakers, and even when they do they are much less likely to use Irish with them. This applies equally to school visits, interhousehold visits, casual

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

encounters, recreational contexts, work-related contacts and attendance at activities where Irish is used. In addition, they are only about half as likely as Group 3^{O} and 4^{O} parents to agree that, due to AIS attendance by their child, networks have arisen outside the school which in turn have led to an overall increase in parental ability and use of Irish outside the home. Finally, where they have Irish-speaking friends, the AIS is far less likely to form the most common bond between them.

There are only three exceptions in which they equal or surpass either Group 3^{O} or Group 4^{O} parents:

(i) They have tried just as hard as Group 4^{O} parents to interest others in all-Irish education (ca. 50% made the effort) and, in fact, have been somewhat more successful.

(ii) They are just as likely not to have visited the Gaeltacht in the past 3 to 4 years as the Group 3^{O} parents (ca. 80%).

(iii) The highest proportion of parents from any of the school groups who visit the school at least monthly and who use more Irish than English while there is in Group 2^{O} where 55% of couples attend performances by their children: however, much of this contact relates to the unique emphasis placed by one of the schools on plays/sketches etc. of a religious nature.

As regards the other two school groups, Group 4^{O} parents are much more intensively involved than Group 3^{O} parents to the extent thatthey use more Irish more often with more Irish-speaking friends in more diverse contexts (e.g. proportion of Irish-using friends, school and interhousehold visits, casual encounters, recreational contexts, Gaeltacht visits and attendance at activities where Irish is used. This is indisputable. Nevertheless, there appears to exist among Group 3^{O} families a certain dynamism (by no means absent in Group 4^{O}) indicating that the current gap could well be closed over time.

The Group 3^{O} families have, at most, only two years experience of all-Irish schooling, yet their parental ability has increased at a much faster rate while equal percentages of Group 3^{O} and Group 4^{O} parents (even higher in the case of Group 3^{O} husbands) attribute these increases as well as increased parental use of Irish to their participation in extra-AIS networks

/ ....

resulting from AIS attendance. In addition, Group 3° parents have not only tried harder to interest others in all-Irish education, but (at 47%) were twice as successful as the Group 4° parents and were (at 39%) twice as likely to have introduced their non-AIS friends into their AIS-based networks. Furthermore, although Group 3° Irish use levels are usually somewhat lower, their frequency of interaction with other Irish-speakers often equals or surpasses that of Group 4° parents*.

One final distinction between Group 3° and Group 4° families deserves mention. There is strong evidence to suggest that Group 3° couples share their friends and network interaction to a greater extent than Group 4° parents and that they rely on the AIS as a common bond with their Irish-speaking friends to a greater extent also. These two are linked to the extent that (a) joint parental visits to the school by Group 3° couples are as high, and sometimes higher than Group 4° couples both in terms of frequency and amount of Irish used, and (b) that the influence of AIS attendance on network formation, resulting in parental ability and use increases, is much more uniform among husbands and wives in Group 3° than in Group 4°. Whereas this AIS-impact has been identical on the wives in both school groups (70% increase in use, 60% increase in ability) the impact on husbands has been only 50% – reduced to 33% in the case of Group 4° husband ability increases; this in turn reflects the fact that the husbands in both of these school groups tend to operate extensive network relationships independent of their wives (who focus on the AIS to a much greater extent) and that this occurs much more in Group 4°. In fact, Group 4° husbands were (at ca. 30%) twice to three times more likely to have "the language" as their closest network bond than either their own wives or either of the parents in Group 3°. Thus the AIS impact will obviously be less where the husbands operate non-AIS networks most. This is encouraging, however, insofar as it suggests that the school is most important as a language network catalyst among those families whose networks, abilities and use show the most dynamic momentum and growth.

In conclusion, Table 5.12 which crosstabulates the four school groups by

---

* There are even indications that older non-AIS attending children in Group 3° families visit other Irish-speaking households to a greater extent, but the numbers involved are too small for proper comparisons to be made.

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the Guttman scale of current family social interaction through Irish (see next section) demonstrates quite clearly the preeminence of Group 4° families, especially vis-a-vis Groups 1° and 2°. However, the position of Group 3° families is also very impressive and would be even more so but for the fact that this scale (a) ignores school-based interaction and (b) deals only with the current situation regardless of relative improvements over time and the role of the school and/or school attendance in bringing about, maintaining and extending these networks.

Table 5.12

School attended BY Guttman scale of family social networks of Irish speakers

Social interaction	School group / Scale score	1 (N=15)	2 (N=22)	3 (N=30)	4 (N=43)
Little or none	No items passed	27%	23%	20%	9%
Minimal	One item passed	53%	54%	33%	16%
Substantial	Two or three items	13%	23%	27%	44%
High	More than 3 items	7%	-	20%	30%

5.5 Factors associated with social and neighbourhood use of Irish

5.5.1 Construction of Guttman Scale: The advantages of Guttman scaling became apparent in Chapter Four: there, as many as eleven different items were found to "hang together" in such a way as to form a cumulative measure of Irish home use in a single score (HOME-PRE and HOMEPOST). As the basic data of this chapter are even more wide-ranging, numerous attempts were made to produce an acceptable Guttman scale to measure use of Irish with persons other than the immediate family. This scale has been achieved. It is called "EXTRAHOME". Although it only contains six items, these items appear to be the most discriminating amongst the many tested.

/ ....

Table 5.13

Constituent items of EXTRAHOME* with percentage of families passing each of the items

ITEM	"PASS"
1. Irish speakers met by parent(s) apart from AIS/Home visits	78%
2. All-Irish home visits by 1st AIS child (Monthly-plus)	41%
3. Wife's Irish-speaking friends met more often than other close friends	28%
4. Majority of parents' joint friends use Irish often	23%
5. More Irish than English used in monthly-plus recreational encounters by parent(s)	20%
6. All-Irish home visits by both parents together (Monthly-plus)	12%

Again, as in Chapter Four, the various cross-currents of the items produce different scale "scores' for different numbers of families as follows:

Score	No.	%	
"0"	19	17%	(17% of families pass none of the items as defined above)
"1"	37	34%	(one of the items, probably no. 1, passed by 34% of families)
"2"	16	15%	
"3"	18	16%	
"4"	8	8%	
"5"	5	4%	(item no. 6 above is probably the only item not passed by these 4%)
"6"	7	6%	(only 6% of families pass all of the scale items)

5.5.2 Home Use of Irish: We have already seen in Chapter Four that high home users of Irish tend to have more intensive and extensive Irish-speaking networks

*Statistics

Coefficient of Reproducibility 0.9061
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility 0.7576
Percent Improvement 0.1485
Coefficient of Scalability 0.6125

/ ....

than lower home users*; thus, while they visit the AIS more often, they do not rely on this contact to the same extent to maintain their networks. This is reflected perhaps in the following table which shows, not only that they tried no harder than lower home users to interest others in all-Irish education (and that when they did try that they were less successful) but that they have less than any other group, introduced new members into their existing networks.

Table 5.14

HOMEPOST BY (a) Respondents' attempts to interest others in all-Irish education, (b) Percentage who have introduced non-AIS friends, relations etc. into their own Irish-speaking networks and (c) Percentage who have increased their contact with other AIS families since AIS participation

		HOMEPOST			
		None	1-3	4-7	8-11
Tried to interest others in all-Irish education for their children	Successful	33%	32%	42%	15%
	Unsuccessful	10%	14%	-	35%
	Don't know	7%	6%	8%	5%
	(Did not try)	50%	48%	50%	45%
Introduced non-AIS friends to network		21%	27%	42%	15%
Increased contact with other AIS families		53%	71%	82%	70%

Finally, while interaction with other Irish-speaking families has increased for at least half of the families at each of the home use levels since AIS participation, the greatest increase (82%) has occurred among the intermediate users (4-7 items passed). As all of these families were formerly at lower use levels, these figures seem to suggest that a certain

---

* e.g. those with good Irish who use it often account for the greatest proportion of the parents' joint friends in 45% of the highest use homes (8-11 items passed), falling rapidly to 0% in homes passing none of the items. High home users are also much more likely to visit othe AI, families, visit the Gaeltacht, meet in recreational settings etc., as well as to attend organised activities based outside the school at which Irish is formally used, viz, the proportion of families where neither parent attends these fuctions is only 30% among the highest home users (8-11) rising steadily to 80% in those families where no items are passed.

....

dynamism (attributable to AIS attendance) pervades this group to a greater extent than the highest home using group. Thus, high levels of school-contact, expanding networks and increases in family home use are all highly correlated.

5.5.3 Parental attitudes

(a) Reasons for choosing all-Irish education for the children: Parents who did not discuss language criteria at all while choosing whether or not to avail of all-Irish schooling are two to three times less likely to have any Irish-speaking friends as those who discussed language reasons. Furthermore, while a much lower proportion of husbands than wives are involved with the school, this occurs to a lesser extent among couples who only discussed language criteria (only one fifth of the husbands in these families are "less involved" than other husbands, which is less than twice as high as where language was not discussed at all). This in turn is reflected in actual attendance by husbands at school meetings, although the reverse holds true with regard to attendance at school concerts, exhibitions etc. (partly explicable with reference to the overrepresentation of "religious-oriented" school Group 2[0] parents giving non-language reasons).

In addition, the "language only" wives have become more involved with the school over time and now feel themselves to be more involved than the other mothers in the same school. They are at least three times as likely to see the AIS as one of their main preoccupations outside the home while they are twice as likely to strongly discount the suggestion that the Irish language is not uppermost in the minds of most of the parents with children in the school. Finally, they tend to have much more intensive network relationships.

(b) Current attitudes: Table 5.15 suggests that most of the reticence among those with low network relationships is based on a lack of commitment born of lack of confidence which in turn is based on a lack of experience of using Irish.

/ ....

Table 5.15

EXTRAHOME BY percentage agreeing with statements regarding social use of Irish

Statement \ EXTRAHOME use score	0	1	2-3	4-6	TOTAL
1. People in my circle just don't use Irish at all	90	73	47	30	60
2. I do not like people speaking in Irish when others are present who do not know Irish	89	78	65	65	73
3. I do not like to begin a conversation in Irish	78	65	41	30	53
4. I do not like to speak Irish with people who may know it better than I do	78	35	38	37	43
5. I wish I could use the Irish I know more often	78	89	85	90	86
6. I am committed to using Irish as much as I can	28	46	62	70	52
7. If everyone could speak Irish and English equally well, I would prefer to use more Irish than English	47	59	68	75	63
8. I will always speak Irish if spoken to in Irish	44	70	71	85	68

Furthermore, Table 5.16 shows that they tend to be much less confident about the effects of AIS attendance on their children, and while they are much more inclined to attribute stimulation of home use to the school and to see this as an investment for their children (which can only be fully realised by their future attendance at all-Irish second-level schools), this is not related to either concern for the Irish language per se or to the opportunity provided by AIS attendance for increasing network relationships.

/ ....

Table 5.16

EXTRAHOME BY percentage STRONGLY DISAGREEING with statements regarding the influence of AIS attendance

Statement \ EXTRAHOME use score	0	1	2-3	4-6	TOTAL
1. My child cannot keep up with the level of Irish expected in the AIS	32	54	85	90	66
2. My child's English is suffering through over-exposure to Irish in the AIS	42	54	79	85	66
3. Were it not for the fact of our child being at the AIS, there would be little or no Irish spoken in this house	0	5	32	45	20
4. Primary AISs are a waste of time if there are not sufficient 2nd level AISs	16	19	47	60	35
5. Most parents do not have the Irish language as their main concern in sending their children to my child's AIS	5	19	39	45	27
6. My child's attendance at the AIS has opened up a whole new world for me*	5 (5)	16 (16)	21 (18)	20 (50)	16 (21)
7. The AIS has become one of my main preoccupations outside the home*	21 (0)	22 (14)	35 (18)	20 (55)	25 (20)

5.5.4 Parental ability

Across a wide range of variables, high ability couples have much more intensive and extensive network interaction with other Irish-speakers. This applies regardless of whether the focus of these networks is school-based or not although the differences are greatest in relation to non-AIS-related networks and activities such as visiting other homes or the Gaeltacht and attending Irish-using activities not based in the school. Invariably where both parents have high ability the interaction is highest and it is least where both parents have low ability. Among the other couples, non-AIS-based interaction is consistently higher among mixed ability couples (one high/one low) whereas school-based networks tend to be higher where both parents have middling ability. Again, there is a tendency

*Figures in brackets show percentage strongly agreeing with the statement.

/ ....

for high ability couples to try no harder than lower ability couples to interest others in all-Irish education or to introduce friends or relations into their AIS-based networks.

5.5.5 Sociodemographic factors

After much analysis, it can be stated quite categorically that families where the mother is 45 years or older tend to interact less than younger families with other Irish-speakers. This applies to both parents and children. Furthermore, older parents depend much less on the school and more on recreational settings to develop and maintain these contacts. In addition, family network interaction is highest where the eldest child in the family was the first to attend an AIS while, with regard to distance from the school, those living within a one-mile radius of the school interact outside the school context much less than other parents. It is also interesting to note that those who have lived at the same address since they got married have fewer Irish-speaking friends and attach much more importance to the location of the all-Irish school than do those who have moved at least once, whereas those who have moved twice or more often have a "carry-over" nucleus of friends with whom they maintain contact despite the location of the all-Irish school.

These points apart, however, it is difficult to be specific about the individual explanatory power of other socio-demographic variables, as there are so many counter-influences neutralising net effects. We will now attempt to explain AIS family interaction with other Irish-speakers by means of multiple regression.

5.6 Explaining variation in social use of Irish

Attempts to explain the variation in social use of Irish concentrated solely on the scale of extra home use described in section 5.5.1. Nine variables explain 36% of the variance but current home use of Irish is by far the single most important explanatory variable (29%). Once again, however, its relative importance fluctuates considerably when analysed by school group.

/ ....

Table 5.17

Variables having most effect on home use of Irish

	Inter-correlations (zero-order)									Variance explained (R^2)				
											SCHOOL GROUP			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	TOTAL	1	2	3	4
EXTRAHOME use of Irish	.54	.41	.40	.09	.33	.13	.16	.19	.02	.36	.90	.60	.51	.37
1 HOMEPOST	–	.56	.52	.09	.39	.23	.15	.23	.13	.29	.46	.22	.17	.20
2 Pre-AIS parental ability	–	–	.53	.01	.37	.31	.14	.18	.06	.02	.01	.01	.12	–
3 Past attendance by parents at Irish-using activities	–	–	–	.02	.20	.14	.07	.13	.05	.01	.14	.02	–	.04
4 Year child began at AIS	–	–	–	–	.09	.10	.23	.01	.15	–	.02	.01	.04	.06
5 Educational level of parents	–	–	–	–	–	.58	.27	.15	.01	.01	.08	–	.08	–
6 Husbands occupation (Hall-Jones)	–	–	–	–	–	–	.25	.14	.07	.01	–	.22	.01	.05
7 Distance of home from school	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.08	.14	.01	.05	.01	.06	–
8 Rank of first AIS child	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.55	–	.04	.02	.02	.01
9 Age of mother	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.09	.10	.01	.02

As the overall amount of variance explained is much less than in the case of home use and as the inter-school comparison shows great fluctuations, both in the importance of individual variables and in the total amount of variance explained, it is clear that many intervening factors are operative in this context.

5.7 Conclusion

As in the case of home use of Irish, we found impressive evidence of the success of all-Irish schools in generating Irish-using networks amongst the families with children at the school. What is particularly encouraging is the impact on families and individuals who appear to have had no previous

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

association with Irish language networks. Obviously the schools have succeeded in providing the stimulus and opportunity for many "passive" bilinguals to establish a degree of bilingualism both in their homes and in social interaction. Of course, there are also a number of families who were already using Irish in these contexts. For them, the all-Irish schools extend rather than encompass their Irish-language networks. Finally, there remains a proportion of families (about 25%) who are not participating in these networks and who do not use Irish in the home either.

To a far greater extent than in the case of home bilingualism, social or community bilingualism is clearly affected by variables not accounted for in our research design. It is, by comparison with the home situation, a much more complex research area, with larger ranges of participants, activities and relationships involved.

CHAPTER SIX – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Summary of the survey's main findings

6.2.1 Home Bilingualism
6.2.2 Social and neighbourhood use of Irish
6.2.3 Ecological relationships
6.2.4 Attitudes towards all-Irish post-primary and pre-school education
6.2.5 Differences between all-Irish schools

6.3 Assessing the study's findings

6.3.1 Inter-school variation
6.3.2 Home bilingualism
6.3.3 Social use of Irish

6.4 Policy implications of the study

6.5 Further research

CHAPTER SIX – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study was initially seen as a relatively straightforward monitoring exercise with the objective of establishing the extent to which all-Irish schools influence language use patterns in a number of home and social contexts. However, it has been clearly demonstrated that this research area is very complex and that a study of this scale cannot fully resolve all the issues that it identified. Bilingualism, both inside and outside the home and, on a larger scale, the linguistic ecology of the region have emerged as major fields of study in their own right. Thus, any policy instrument (such as all-Irish schools) that attempts to influence patterns of bilingualism must operate through, and be constrained by, social structures and processes as well as by differences in levels of language competence and attitudes. This point was heavily emphasised in the Report of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1976) and we are merely giving it a more precise and specific expression with regard to the areas we have studied. What it underlines for those involved with language research, language planning and language promotion is that bilingualism in these contexts cannot be fully understood without much more basic social information about family, neighbourhood, recreational and ecological patterns in urban areas.

In drawing attention to the exploratory character of our study we are, of course, implying that its conclusions should be presented in a particular manner. The outstanding research issues need to be set out, and, as far as possible, their significance examined and assessed. This we will attempt later in the chapter (section 6.5) but we will first consider the study's findings with specific regard to our terms of reference. It will be recalled that these were:

> "To examine the extent to which all-Irish primary schools in the Dublin area:
>
> provide opportunities for parents who do not use Irish at home to send their children to an all-Irish school (TR1);
>
> provide an impetus for increased use of Irish within the families of children attending the schools (TR2);

/ ....

increase interaction amongst Irish-speaking families through common interests, common participation in parent-teacher associations, extra-curricular activities etc. (TR3);

are, in their locational distribution, related to the distribution of Irish-speakers in the Dublin area (TR4);

build up the levels of Irish speakers in the communities they serve through the presence in the area of school-leavers (TR5);

encourage parents who value all-Irish education for their children to move residence to an area provided with an all-Irish school and, thereby, decrease their isolation from other Irish-speaking families (TR6), and

are systematically related to pre-school and post-primary education through Irish (TR7).

(For ease of reference in following sections, they will carry the designation TR1 to TR7).

Rather than discuss them item by item, they will be examined under four general headings — home bilingualism, social and neighbourhood use of Irish, ecological relationships and finally, all-Irish pre-school and post-primary education. In these four sections, the main findings of the survey will be briefly re-stated under the appropriate heading. In a concluding section to this part of the chapter, we will assess the evidence on inter-school variation.

In later sections we will consider in more general terms the issues of home bilingualism, social and recreational use of Irish, the role of all-Irish schools in these areas and some aspects of the linguistic ecology of Dublin. In these discussions both policy and research problems will be examined.

One further introductory comment is necessary. The study's brief uses the terms "Irish-speaking family" and "Irish-speakers". In this chapter, we have chosen not to give these terms any precise meaning, but rather to treat "Irish-speaking" in both individual and family contexts as a matter of

/ ....

degree. We will draw attention, therefore, as appropriate, to differences between bilingual families according to the extent to which they use Irish. Later, however, the question will have to be confronted more directly, for while it may be encouraging to see evidence of emerging bilingualism regardless of its intensity, from the viewpoint of language maintenance a much more stringent assessment is required.

6.2 Summary of the survey's main findings

6.2.1 Home bilingualism

We were not specifically asked to provide an overall socio-linguistic description of the families who send children to all-Irish schools, but rather to establish the extent to which families "who do not use Irish at home" send children to an all-Irish school (TR1). On the basis of our survey it would appear that two thirds to three quarters of the families were using little or no Irish in the home before their child began at an all-Irish school. Although this finding is qualified by the restriction of the survey to families with up to four years experience of all-Irish schooling, the pattern is so pronounced and so consistent with other evidence that we regard it as a fairly accurate description of the general situation. When interviewing the school principals, they estimated that 80 - 90% of the children coming into the school for the first time had no Irish whatsoever. Again, in the CLAR national survey, 69% of those who attended all-Irish primary schools came from homes where little or no Irish was spoken (CLAR, p.400). Twenty-two percent of the respondents in our own survey had themselves attended an all-Irish primary school, but overall only 10% came from homes where Irish was always or often spoken by almost everyone in the house.

Against this background we may begin our assessment of changes in home use of Irish since the children began attending all-Irish schools (TR2). Depending on the measure of change employed, the increase in home use of Irish is variable, but persistently impressive and substantial. On the most general and generous measures about 60 to 70% of the families report an increase in use. When one allows for the fact that about a half of the remainder were already high users of Irish and did not, therefore, perceive any change, it can be seen that a very clear majority of the families regard

/ ....

themselves as using more Irish now. However, if we utilise progressively more demanding measures, the degree of change recedes somewhat. In formulating the scales of home use of Irish (Chapter Four) we set a minimum standard of 50% or higher use in at least one of eleven different situations or relationships. Given the specification of some of these, this is not an excessively stringent standard, but the percentage of families demonstrating an increase in use falls to 53%. Furthermore, only 30% would appear to be using this level of Irish to a substantial degree while at the other extreme, 28% are judged on this measure to be using little or no Irish. Finally, we may note that, despite family increases, husband-wife use at the higher levels is only 15%.

From a policy viewpoint, each of these measures requires careful consideration and they can in turn be deemed to be encouraging or otherwise. For the moment we will confine ourselves to three more general points. First, it has to be stressed that these changes were recorded among families who were at a relatively early stage of their association with an all-Irish school. We do not know if home bilingualism levels will continue to increase and intensify at the same rate, or what the trend might be after all the children have left school. Secondly, as a group, the families' current home use of Irish would appear to be higher than any sub-category of the population examined in the CLAR report (CLAR Tables 4.10 and 4.21) although this would not have been the case prior to all-Irish school attendance (at that stage, the home use of teachers of Irish was higher -- CLAR Table 4.21). Thirdly, the evidence that this change is due to the children's attendance at an all-Irish school is convincing. Not merely do we have the time comparison already summarised, but the respondents' own perception of the cause of the change leaves no room for doubt -- 86% of the total respondents claim that AIS attendance has brought about more frequent home use of Irish (although the intensity and the contexts/personnel involved are very wide-ranging). Furthermore, the actual pattern of use supports these claims. The main areas in which increases occur involve the children, who are of course, the family members most directly affected by the school.

It is evident from the data examined in this section, and in greater detail in Chapter Four, that there is considerable variation in the impact that schools have on families. The implications of these matters will require comment later, but we may conclude this section by noting that while CLAR was justified in suspecting that patterns of home bilingualism change

/ ....

with all-Irish schooling, it was misled into thinking that entry to all-Irish schools was stringently restricted to Irish-speaking families. The reality could hardly be more different.

6.2.2 Social and neighbourhood use of Irish

Our data on these matters are of a slightly different nature than those collected for the home situation. This is a very complex area and we discovered in the pilot survey that it would be impossible, for practical reasons, to collect data on social use of Irish for both the stages before AIS involvement and afterwards. We were obliged to settle for a set of questions directed at the current situation and a number of questions that sought to elicit the respondent's perception of the role of the school in generating changes. However, there is considerable consistency between the replies to these questions, both internally and with other use-items, so that we are confident that the substantial role attributed to the schools in this regard has been reasonably validly ascertained.

In the CLAR report it was estimated (p. 181) that 'outside the Gaeltacht, only one person out of six reported any degree of Irish usage in general conversation after leaving school'; our information clearly suggests social use levels well in excess of this national average.

Naturally, contacts with the AIS teachers and other parents in the school setting are likely to involve the use of Irish, so that the more significant questions are probably those which asked about use patterns outside this context. In these extra-school settings, only about 20% claim to have no contact whatsoever with other Irish speakers although at the other extreme, only 10% of the families pass at least 5 of the 6 items included in the EXTRAHOME Guttman scale. However, the criteria for passing any of these scale items are very demanding (see Table 5.13) so it is highly encouraging to note that as many as a third of the families pass at least three of the items, while a very substantial 41% of the AIS children visit other Irish homes at least monthly and use Irish while there.

The "school" is decreed by a large majority to be the main factor in establishing these relatively high levels of social use of Irish. Seventy two percent of respondents said that it was through the school that they met their Irish-speaking friends since taking up their present residence. Similarly, sixty three percent of respondents stated that they now meet more Irish-speakers than hitherto, and that this increase was due to the

/ ....

child's attendance at an all-Irish school.

However, the brief directed our attention specifically to increase in "interaction amongst Irish-speaking families" (TR3). When we examined these social patterns against the degree of Irish used in the respondents' home, a very significant relationship emerged. The very high home users of Irish (i.e. those best approximating to the concept of an Irish-speaking family) are far more likely to be actively involved in the school and to report high levels of social use of Irish. But, paradoxically, they are least likely to regard the school as the central factor in establishing these networks. Contacts generated through recreational, work or 'language' interests are, in total, more important than the school, especially among the husbands.

By contrast, those families reporting low levels of home bilingualism, in particular those moving from low or no home use of Irish into low to moderate use, are far more likely to see the school as the central factor in generating contacts with other Irish-speakers. What appears to be implied by this relationship is that even before AIS attendance by their children, high home use families were chanelling their social life into contexts where they met Irish-speakers and these non-school settings were helping them to participate in Irish-speaking networks. For these families, the AIS provides an extension of their range of social contacts, but it does not encompass it entirely. Other families would appear, despite high ability levels and favourable attitudes among many, not to have been involved in these non-school social activities. As a result, when the child's attendance at an AIS began to stimulate some home use of Irish, the only networks of Irish-speakers known to them centred on the school also.

This is important, for it suggests that the schools succeed in involving in Irish-speaking networks those families and couples left outside networks generated by language and other types of Irish-using organisations, while even among formerly "involved" parents, it seems that AIS-generated networks are "supplanting" formal organisations as the focus of Irish-speaking networks, especially among the wives.

6.2.3 Ecological relationships

These relationships cover a very wide range of issues and our brief asked us to consider only three points. First, we were asked to examine the

/ ....

relationship between the locational pattern of all-Irish schools and the distribution of Irish speakers in the Dublin region (TR4). Secondly, reversing the relationship, we were asked to examine the impact of the schools on the general linguistic ecology through (a) the residential patterns of school-leavers (TR5) and (b) the residential mobility patterns of AIS families (TR6). Our information on these three items is subject to some substantial qualifications, but it does nonetheless allow some tentative conclusions to be made.

As we explained in Chapter Two, there is no satisfactory data available on the distribution of Irish-speakers in the Dublin region. The best that could be obtained was the small-area data from the 1971 Census, which allowed us to examine the distribution of people who could speak Irish in the region. Within the Dublin County Borough area (the only part of the region which we had time to examine), there is a clear relationship between the catchment areas of schools and those wards with a higher than average proportion of Irish-speakers. In the context of this relationship, it is particularly noticeable that the schools draw very little support from the south-western and the central city sectors, where the wards contain lower than average proportions of self-reported Irish-speakers.

On the other two items, our information is even more tentative. We were not, of course, within our survey able to collect any data at all about school-leavers. But 22% of our respondents and a similar proportion of husbands are themselves past-pupils of all-Irish primary schools. For that reason, it is instructive to note that 68% of respondents have lived at more than one address since they married. As their first address was usually different from their childhood address, it is obvious that there is a very considerable degree of mobility among these families. It is, therefore, unlikely that the presence of school-leavers would make any appreciable difference to the numbers of Irish-speakers in the locality of their parents' home for more than a few years. However, it is possible that the residential mobility just described takes place between areas of roughly similar social type. Depending on the number of these areas, it may be that the impact of school-leavers, who are relatively few in number, is channelled into a limited number of residential areas. At this wider level, their influence may be significant but this issue would require further study.

/ ....

Likewise, we uncovered very little evidence that families had moved residence to be near an all-Irish school. In examining the reasons parents gave for choosing an AIS it was clear that parents either sent their children to a distant school or waited for one to be established in the locality. Once they had experience of an AIS, however, a majority (70%) would now consider the availability of an all-Irish school if the question of a house move arose: but 41% would still move if no school was available. It is apparent from the maps of the catchment areas that many families are well used to their children travelling relatively long distances and their replies may be taken as an indication that most do not consider the local availability of an AIS to be an undue restriction on residential choice. One must also note that the middle-class suburban areas in most parts of the city contain an AIS, and that residential choices would in most instances be made with regard to these areas.

6.2.4 Attitudes towards all-Irish post-primary and pre-school education

Just 50% of the respondents anticipated the progression of their children on to an all-Irish secondary school once the primary school cycle was completed. About one quarter of the remainder foresaw accessibility difficulties while the rest thought such a course either unnecessary or inadvisable having regard to a number of educational factors. It would appear that some of this reluctance could be overcome if schools were more widely available and better provided with textbooks etc. But it is clear that career considerations in an English-speaking city weigh heavily in the parents' approach to education at this level. There is also evidence that some families, even those who use Irish extensively in the home, do not perceive any great necessity for a child to continue through to all-Irish post-primary education. This is again an issue that would merit further research.

At the other end of the educational cycle, only 28% of the parents considered the provision of all-Irish education at the pre-school stage to be "very important". Thirty six percent, in fact, thought the matter of no importance at all. In explaining this two points can be made. First, the vast majority of the parents were very satisfied with the all-Irish school and this satisfaction extended to the child's progress in acquiring Irish. Likewise, the school principals did not consider the low command of Irish

/ ...

among school entrants as a great problem. Children quickly become fluent. Against this background it is understandable that the parents should not perceive any linguistic role for pre-schools. The children apparently do quite well without them. On the other hand, it is clear from our study of home bilingualism that the earlier in the family cycle that children acquire competence in Irish, the better are the possibilities for home use of Irish being established. As few parents appear able to do this by themselves, there would seem to be an *a priori* case for all-Irish pre-school units where there can be a follow-through to an all-Irish primary school.

6.2.5 Differences between all-Irish schools

Bearing in mind the fact that the families within each school group vary on the measures described above, it is also very noticeable that substantial variations occur between school groups. Before discussing the implications of this inter-school variation, the most pertinent features of each school group's characteristics and linguistic behaviour will first be set forth.

School Group 1^{O}: Two central city schools: One of these schools is located in the city centre proper and the second is currently located just outside the canal on the southside. Both schools, particularly the more central one, have extensive catchment areas but the numbers of children attending them have been declining for some years. By comparison with other school groups, a substantial proportion of the husbands in these families are in the higher status occupations and about one third of the parents have high ability levels in Irish. Two thirds of the families sent their eldest child to an all-Irish school. The respondents were equally divided between those who sent their child to an all-Irish school for language reasons only and for non-language reasons only. Pre-AIS family use of Irish in the home was almost identical with that in school groups 2^{O} and 3^{O} but by time of interview, although moderate to higher levels (at 20%) equalled group 3^{O}, 60% of the families – the highest of any group – still used little or no Irish in the home. Also, with regard to social use of Irish, they shared bottom place with school group 2^{O}.

School Group 2^{O}: North City schools: Both of these schools were established in their present locations in the 1970s. In each case the catchment areas are fairly compact – no family in the survey lived more than three miles from

/ ....

the school – but there is considerable overlap between the two schools' hinterlands. By comparison with the other school groups, this group is quite unique on many criteria. Parental levels of education, occupation and ability are low, age is high and, in nearly 60% of the families, children older than the all-Irish school attenders were attending non-all-Irish schools. Furthermore, this group contained the largest percentage (55%) of respondents who said that they sent their child(ren) to an all-Irish school primarily for non-language reasons.

At the time of interview, only 9% of the families were using Irish at moderate to high levels of intensity in the home. This is the lowest proportion of families using this degree of Irish among the groups, although it should also be noted that about 40% of the families had begun to use Irish in the home at a very low level of intensity. Use of Irish outside the home was also low compared with groups 3^{o} and 4^{o}.

School Group 3^{o}: City fringe schools plus one central city school: The largest number of families in this group are attached to two schools on the north-western and south-western fringes of the region. Both were founded in the mid-1970s. It was decided to include one of the central city schools here, rather than in Group 1^{o} because they all shared the important common denominator of having their children at an all-Irish school for only one or two years.

The families in this group share many of the characteristics of Group 1^{o} families. They are, however, noticeably younger than either Group 1^{o} or Group 2^{o} families, only 3% of the respondents being over 45.

A clear majority (70%) gave language reasons as the primary motive for sending a child to an all-Irish school, but about two-thirds of these gave equal prominence to non-language considerations. Nevertheless, the proportion who appeared to be acting solely in response to non-language reasons (30%) is substantially lower than the previous two groups.

The overall increase in home bilingualism among families in this group is extremely impressive by comparison with the two foregoing groups. Although the proportion of families using Irish at the two highest levels of intensity (20%) is identical with Group 1^{o}, a far greater proportion have improved at the lower levels of use.

/ ....

When the relatively short duration of all-Irish school involvement is taken into account, this group demonstrates considerable change. Similarly, the proportion of families using Irish in non-home contexts at the two highest levels (47%) is more than twice the proportion in these categories among families in Groups 1^{o} and 2^{o}. However, there is still a substantial difference between the bilingual patterns of this group and the remaining group to be discussed.

Group 4^{o}: Other suburban schools: The three schools in this group are all in extensive suburban areas in the south, southeast and northeastern sectors of the city. On most scores the families in this group appear to be more likely to belong to the higher status groups, to be better educated, to have higher ability levels in Irish and to be more committed to the use of Irish. For example, 67% of the husbands are in the three highest status occupational categories; 62% of the couples have attended full-time education to Leaving Certificate or higher levels; 51% of the couples place themselves in the two highest categories of ability in Irish and only 14% of the families have older children at non-all-Irish schools. Furthermore, 23% of the families were already using Irish extensively before any child attended an all-Irish school, compared with at most, 7% in the other three groups.

Seventy-five percent of the families gave language reasons as the primary motive for sending a child to an all-Irish school although one-third of these gave equal weighting to other factors. However, this group contained the smallest proportion of families in all groups who appeared to be acting solely from non-language considerations.

Families in this group demonstrated the most intensive pattern of home bilingualism at the time of interview. Only 12% were estimated to be using little or no Irish, while nearly half (48%) were using Irish at the the two highest levels of intensity. Similarly, three quarters of them appeared to be making substantial use of Irish in social interaction outside the family home, a proportion which far outweighs that of any other group.

/ ....

Because of the extent of inter-school variation, it is clear that all-Irish schools do not stimulate any uniform change in home or social bilingualism. While there are similarities between the schools, there are obviously a large number of intervening factors which make each school an unique case. It is to these problems that we now wish to turn.

6.3 Assessing the study's findings

The conclusions presented in previous sections undoubtedly clarify a number of issues that had been but poorly explored at the time the study was initiated. Taken together they provide a fairly well-rounded description of the families who support all-Irish schools, the wider social, spatial and linguistic context of the schools and their impact on home and social use of Irish. It is clear, however, that the findings themselves pose difficult questions of interpretation and assessment. In the following sections, some of the more important of these problems will be discussed. The issue of inter-school variation will be first examined, followed by a more detailed exploration of the patterns of home and social bilingualism.

6.3.1 Inter-school variation

At a general level, the factors associated with patterns of language use in the home or in social interaction are similar to those identified in CLAR (1976). The ability levels of the parents in Irish and the pattern of bilingualism existing before all-Irish school involvement appeared to be the most important variables "explaining" bilingual patterns at the time of the survey. No other variable seemed to have a significant role as an independent factor. However, when we attempted to move back along the causal chain and tried to identify the variance caused by these variables, our analytical work was less successful. The range of basic socio-economic and sociolinguistic variables included in the research design do not encompass the full spectrum of relevant matters. This is probably partly due to a certain incompleteness in the measures used to assess key variables such as linguistic ability, patterns of language use within the home and in non-home domains, the social structure of households and recreational and community networks. These are all very complicated issues requiring detailed study and we recommend later that further research into these matters is now an urgent necessity. Measurement of basic socio-linguistic patterns is a central and primary requirement for the development of research in this field. To date the research undertaken in Ireland has relied

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

on the respondents' own estimation of language competence and behaviour. It is now necessary to obtain more objective measures. There is a second aspect of this problem which also requires further study. While the amount of Irish taught to an individual in school, the duration of full-time education and the attitudes of his/her parents towards Irish may all establish the general parameters of a person's attitude towards, ability in and use of Irish, other factors not identified or measured by these variables may be just as important. Our interviewers were impressed by the range of experiences which apparently influenced individual families in their decision to establish bilingual homes. As our interview schedules were, of necessity, highly structured, most of this information, which was imparted in casual conversation, was not consistently recorded. It is possible that the circumstances which determine a couple's approach to home and social bilingualism, and which are lodged in their individual and shared life histories, may be impossible to classify; but without detailed, in-depth studies of the evolution of such families, set against a control group, a judgement would be premature.

The foregoing discussion relates to the question of explaining variation in bilingual patterns at the most general level. However, when the degree of inter-school variation summarised in section 6.2.5 is examined, a different, but probably related set of problems emerges. Here the issue is not the ultimate success of the research design in providing a full explanation of bilingual patterns; rather it is the question as to why the same set of explanatory variables should explain such different amounts of variance in each school group. For example, in school groups 1^{o} and 2^{o}, the same set of variables explains the same amount of total variance in current home use (ca. 88%), yet pre-AIS home use explains five times more of the variance than ability in group 1^{o} whereas they each explain the same amount in group 2^{o}.

While the measurement problems referred to earlier may also be affecting these relationships, the fact that the difficulty arises within an inter-school comparison naturally suggests the possibility that the differences may be specific to the schools themselves. It should be stressed that we are using the term "school" in this context to refer not only

/ ....

to the administrative dimension, but also to the wider context of the school's catchment area. Aspects of these school-specific matters that could be held to influence the bilingual achievements of families include the following:

(a) Socio-demographic and educational factors. While the shape and extent of the schools' catchment areas vary considerably, the majority of the schools primarily serve the locality in which they are located. The general social and linguistic characteristics of this area will thus define in some measure the potential 'market' for the school, although this relationship may be further complicated by the existence of other primary education outlets and even competition from other all-Irish schools. Yet other factors such as the age of the school and the stage of physical development in its locality can also determine not merely the educational but also the social role of the school.

(b) Socio-linguistic ecology. In Chapter Two, we drew on some information to suggest that there are marked differences between various sub-areas of the region in the proportions of Irish-speakers they contain. In addition, there would appear to be a continuity in these patterns over time and, although we have no evidence on the point, there may be inter-area differences in the degree to which Irish-speakers are active in forming networks in the recreational sphere. These patterns will, in part, determine the extent to which all-Irish school families find themselves relying entirely on the school as an instrument to establish networks.

(c) Administrative factors. Finally, the attitudes, dynamism and policies followed by the school administration could be expected to be influential. This would define the role of the school, particularly with regard to Irish, the school's admissions policy and the extent to which the school seeks to involve parents as well as the nature and purpose of such involvement.

While we have collected evidence to suggest the importance of some of these factors, a detailed study of their complex interaction would require a very different and substantial research project. But we would stress their importance in any attempt to understand the nature of family-school relationships. However, it is possible to argue with some confidence that

/ ....

while the educational impact of all-Irish schools is in large measure predictable (CLAR,1976), the factors likely to affect family-school relationships are so variable as to make each all-Irish school almost an unique case. Therefore, any attempt to use all-Irish schools as a policy instrument to achieve objectives other than educational ones requires very careful assessment.

6.3.2 Home bilingualism

The stimulus for change in home bilingualism is the proficiency in Irish acquired by a child or children in the household who attend an all-Irish school. Most parents respond to this by using more Irish with the children, but the extent of use is related to the ability of the parents in Irish. However, there is evidence that it may also be related to the manner in which child-rearing functions are allocated among the parents. Mothers, for example, are more likely to use at least some Irish with the children than fathers. Although husband-wife ability differences may partly explain this phenomenon, it may also be due to the amount of parent-child contact time and its nature. This is another instance where straight sociological studies, in this case of the family, would help our analysis.

Other aspects of the home situation emerged more clearly from the survey. Where a pattern of language use was well established it resisted change. This can be seen in two contexts. First, the presence of older children who did not attend an all-Irish school inhibited the use of Irish. Secondly, the change in use patterns among parents is quite small by comparison with change in the parent-AIS child relationships. In fact, the use frequencies suggest that many parents find it easier to speak Irish in their newly-formed friendship settings than they do in the home adult situation.

Both of these aspects of home bilingualism raise the question of the durability of the changes in language use. This matter cannot, of course, be fully examined within the limits of our survey, restricted as it is to those families with up to four years experience of all-Irish schooling. It is possible that the levels of home bilingualism will increase in time, particularly among those families who send all their children to an all-Irish school, but generally, the signs are not encouraging. Given the

/ ....

natural conservatism of language use patterns, if parent couples whose child is into its third or fourth year at an all-Irish school have not significantly changed their own language pattern, then it is likely that a fairly permanent dichotomy in the home domain has become established. There is then the likelihood that the child will come to see the parent/child use of Irish as unnatural and will increasingly separate the home and school language[1].

This gives added urgency to the necessity to provide more support for families at an early stage. Most families saw ability deficiencies as the main obstacle to increasing levels of use in the home. How far parents would respond to efforts to make courses available is not possible to say. But it does appear that parents may encounter particular linguistic problems not likely to be handled in the normal language courses. A perplexing relationship in our analysis is that between perceived obstacles to increasing use of Irish and actual use and ability levels in the home. While, as might be expected, parents with low ability levels in Irish tended to blame their weak command of Irish for its low use, many parents of reported high ability and sometimes high use levels also reckoned this to be the main obstacle to further increases. This may be explained by deficiencies in the ability and use scales used in our questionnaire; but it might also indicate that an ability level satisfactory for most social conversations is inadequate for the more intimate, multi-dimensional nature of home conversations. (Nevertheless, it should be recalled that commitment to home bilingualism is much lower than commitment to all-Irish education). We can only note this point for further research.

One final aspect of this problem concerns the location of the family relative to the school. We uncovered some slight evidence that the families a long distance away from the school (i.e. more than 3 miles) were more likely to give low environmental support as the main obstacle to increased use of Irish. The numbers are too small for reliable conclusions,

---

[1] Schmidt-Mackey, I.: 'Language Strategies of the Bilingual Family' in Mackey, W. F. & Anderson, T.: Bilingualism in Early Childhood (1971), pp. 132-145.

/ ....

but they do support the reasonable assertion that families well out of contact with the majority in the school's catchment area may see themselves as isolated and become discouraged. Also, it will be remembered that these families are far more likely to give "the school" as the most common bond with their Irish-speaking friends.

6.3.3 Social use of Irish

Unlike the home domain, which has a constant setting and participant group, the social context is far more diverse and difficult to analyse. Again we encountered, this time in a more substantial way, the problems created by the absence of sociological studies of the social and recreational patterns of different types of social areas. The profiles of language use which we did collect proved useful and revealing in the analysis, but they are difficult to evaluate outside a wider study of social interaction. Low frequencies of use in these contexts may signify limited contact with Irish-speakers, but they could equally well be indicative of socially inactive families.

This is not the only problem. As we show in Chapter Five, there is also considerable variation between the schools in social as well as in home use of Irish. A contrast between the newer schools and the more established schools is noticeable. In general, the schools play a more important role in the formation of Irish-speaking networks in the newer than in the older schools. Several explanations may be offered to account for this. The enthusiasm and drive of the school's founding group and the compact clustering nature of the catchment areaare obvious factors. But as in the case of the schools themselves, there is the question of comparative advantage. Many of these schools are in the more recent suburbs and the school may, as already noted, be one of the few community focal points available. If this werethe case, it would, of course, greatly enhance its value to the families.

This, however, leads to the question about the precise process whereby the school fills this role, in the newer schools and others. In accordance with our terms of reference we concentrated on the more formal events, parent-teacher associations, extra-curricular activities etc. The frequency of participation reported for these events is quite low and would appear to

/ ....

offer a very limited explanation for the impressive volume of Irish-speaking contacts judged by the respondents to flow from their association with the school. One is, therefore, left with the possibility that these contacts, though generated by the school, are largely located within informal activities: taking the children to school, sharing such trips, children visiting each other, children's parties etc. Major, but infrequent events like school concerts, sports days, sales of work etc. would then become situations whereby the contacts become consolidated over time.

While this process remains unclear, it is difficult to be specific about the possibilities for using the school as a mechanism to increase social use of Irish.

More generally, however, the evidence of interaction between Irish-speaking and friendship networks would appear to offer the possibility of further development. The problem is that this interaction seems to be most intensively cultivated only by the very high home users of Irish. This relationship implies that any efforts to intensify social use of Irish will have to simultaneously attend to the problem of home use. As we have said, the constraint here is perceived by the majority to be ability levels and lack of commitment.

6.4 Policy Implications of the study

Following the urging of CLAR, the state now appears to adopt bilingualism rather than language displacement as its objective. This commitment, however, still leaves many questions unanswered. As Mackey* points out, bilingualism at the national level can take many different forms and can vary considerably from one situation to another. As it is currently unclear what form of bilingualism is desireable in Irish circumstances, it is ultimately difficult to state whether the patterns emerging in all-Irish school families adequately meet the objective. However, while we would wish to see the national objective clarified, it is probable that most concerned people would regard the patterns of family

---

* Mackey, W.: Bilingualism as a World Problem. Montreal (1967)

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

and community bilingualism described in our study as positive but still weakly established. Therefore, we consider it appropriate to devote some discussion to the possibilities for extending and intensifying the patterns of bilingualism that emerge in this way.

Although our findings are subject to some considerable qualifications and further work is required in this area, it is clear that all-Irish schools not only provide their pupils with competence in Irish, but that they also achieve substantial success in stimulating families to use more Irish in the home and in social interaction. Passive bilinguals become active and some people actually improve their knowledge of Irish. Furthermore, the schools, as well as providing the stimulus, also seem to provide the informal social mechanism by which Irish-speaking networks can be established. Other policy instruments, such as support for Irish language organisations, Irish in the media etc., also have, in part at least, the objective of increasing bilingualism in these areas and it would be useful to have the necessary information to undertake a comparative study. But on some grounds the all-Irish schools would appear to have distinct advantages as a policy instrument. In the first place, they affect the <u>family</u> rather than the individual. Secondly, they involve families and individuals who are not influenced by other types of policies. For example, only a minority of parents are members of Irish language organisations or attend organised Irish-using activities. Thirdly, the requirement to educate children cannot be avoided by most families. The all-Irish schools meet this basic requirement <u>and</u> allow some linguistic objectives to be satisfied at the same time. No other policy, apart from a limited number of employment contexts, share this last characteristic.

To however modest and variable a degree, all-Irish schools are influencing the distribution of bilingual homes and social networks in the Dublin region. While we have argued that the distribution of the schools themselves is by no means a random matter, it is also true that the growth of the present network of schools is in large measure an ad hoc, spontaneous development. If, following this study, it is decided to use all-Irish schools more consciously and rationally for the purpose of increasing home and social bilingualism, then they will have to be deployed in a more orderly manner.

/ ....

This implies the necessity to establish and assess the existing patterns of home and social bilingualism in different parts of the region (or other urban regions) and of setting feasible and realistic targets for each. Against this framework it would then be possible to ascertain where all-Irish schools might be the most appropriate instrument or where they might need to be supplemented or replaced by others. In this context also, it would be possible to examine other developments within the specifically educational field such as the provision of post-primary and pre-school facilities.

Technically, the task of establishing this framework is considerable. But it is urgent and we make a recommendation for this type of research below. However, in the short-term, we would suggest that Bord na Gaeilge might consider the formation of a committee to examine the development of language policies for the region. A sub-committee might then be established to look specifically at educational problems i.e. location, phasing, site acquisition, textbooks, management procedures etc.

The recommendations relate more to strategic issues than to the internal relationship between school and catchment area. There would seem, on *a priori* grounds, to be scope for development here. Certainly, the degree of inter-school variation suggests that some schools are better organised to achieve these bilingual impacts than others. However, we have been at pains to emphasise that our study was not structured to identify these processes. Great care is, therefore, required if action in these matters is considered necessary in advance of the further research we recommend. Most families send children to an all-Irish school without any more ambitious objective than that their children become competent bilinguals. To formally propose that all-Irish schools should either become more stringent in their admission policy or rigourously pressurise families to become bilingual could deter many families from sending children at all. It is by no means clear that the schools could survive without the support of these families.

There are, however, a couple of problems which could be tackled without prematurely entering into the controversial areas noted above. As we have already seen, the main problem facing parents who wish to use more Irish in the home is the perceived limited ability of themselves or

/ ....

other household members. There would appear to be no solution for this other than the provision of suitable courses. However, we have also noted that some further research would be necessary to establish the type of courses most suitable for this situation (and whether or not they would be attended) for there is some variation in ability levels and even those with relatively high levels perceive limitations in their capacity to use Irish extensively in the home.

Also with regard to home bilingualism, we would argue for the desireability of developing the provision of all-Irish pre-school education within the schools' catchment areas. Although there is not strong support for this among our survey population, all the evidence points to the advisability of altering language use patterns as early as possible in the family cycle. Many of the schools already provide nursery classes, but some parents may be reluctant to send children of this age ($2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 years) over long distances. Therefore, a network of small, more localised playgroup units may be the best answer.

6.5 Further Research

At several points in the study, reference was made to the need for further research. It may be helpful if we summarise some of the more important issues here.

(1) While we are satisfied that the analysis contained in the foregoing chapters adequately supports the conclusions presented here, we are of the opinion that the data collected in the survey could be yet further examined, particularly with regard to inter-school variation. This further analysis would require the utilisation of rather sophisticated statistical techniques. Because work of this type would have greatly extended the time required to complete this study, we were unable to undertake the necessary analysis, but we would hope that Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann might be able to arrange to have it undertaken.

(2) Measuring linguistic competence and language use. The methodology used in this study and in the earlier research of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research utilised the social survey technique of data collection. This is now quite a common technique in sociolinguistic research, but quite obviously, it imposes certain restrictions on the range and type of data that can be collected. Not only does this technique

/ ....

rely on the respondent's own estimation of his or her linguistic competence or language use pattern, but even within this limitation it is by no means certain that the questions asked in the interview allow the respondent to accurately and comprehensively describe his own or others' language behaviour. To date, the information obtained in surveys of this type has proved extremely useful in allowing broad categorisations to be established, but we feel that it is now timely to undertake a number of smaller-scale studies, possibly of the participant-observer type, in order to clarify these issues and provide more objective measures. Such studies would, of course, complement rather than replace the social survey technique which will always be required.

(3) Further studies of all-Irish school families. A full evaluation of the impact of all-Irish schools on family and social use of Irish requires the extension of the present study to include families with longer experience of all-Irish schooling at both the primary and post-primary level. To study long-term trends, this recommended survey might also include families where children have left all-Irish schools. In addition, it would be useful to have a study which monitored the emergence of Irish language networks in a new school and/or among new entrants to an established school. This project would probably have to be of three or four years' duration.

(4) The sociolinguistic ecology of the Dublin region. While the evidence in CLAR clearly demonstrates that bilingualism at the community level is weakly established in the Dublin region, we uncovered evidence which indicates that within these generally low levels there are significant variations between different districts. Both the census data and the inter-school comparisons combine to suggest that persons with relatively high ability in Irish tend to reside in a limited number of areas, and that the frequency and intensity of participation in Irish-language networks (based on the AIS or other focus) also varies with district. Wider contextual studies of these patterns would be of considerable interest in themselves and would also help in the evaluation of specific policy measures.

(5) Sociological studies. Although not particularly within the brief of a linguistics institute, we feel that sociolinguistic research into these types of problems can be best developed if it is paralleled by straight sociological enquiries into family, neighbourhood and recreational patterns in urban areas.

APPENDIX A

Supplementary Tables to Chapter Two

Each of these tables is composed of column percentages which show (a) the total response of all the respondents and (b) the inter-school variation. The four school groups are as follows: 1 = Centre City Schools; 2 = North City Schools; 3 = City Fringe Schools plus [illegible]e in city centre; 4 = Other Suburban Schools (see section 2.3.3 for details)

		SCHOOL GROUP				
		1 (N=15)	2 (N=22)	3 (N=30)	4 (N=43)	Total (N=110)
A.1 Age of respondent	Under 35	27	18	37	35	31
	35-44	53	41	60	51	52
	45 plus	20	41	3	14	17
A.2 Year of Marriage	1968-69	53	18	27	56	40
	1963-67	20	36	53	32	37
	Pre-1963	27	46	20	12	23
A.3 No. of children in family	One or Two	26	18	6	35	23
	Three	27	23	47	37	36
	Four or more	47	59	47	28	41
A.4 Rank of 1st child in family to attend all-Irish school	Eldest	64	41	53	86	65
	2nd eldest	7	14	30	5	14
	3rd or lower	29	45	17	9	21
A.5 Joint occupational status of parents	Low (H-J 5-7)	42	45	40	17	31
	Mixed	29	50	33	40	40
	High (H-J 1-4)	29	5	27	43	29
A.6 Husbands' occupation BY employment sector	Public sector	66	27	50	58	51
	Private "	27	59	43	40	42
	Not known	7	14	7	2	7
A.7 Percentage of husbands and wives who did not receive any 2nd level education	Husbands	21	43	21	12	22
	Wives	20	41	23	9	19

/ ....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

				SCHOOL GROUP 1 (N=15)	2 (N=22)	3 (N=30)	4 (N=43)	TOTAL (N=110)
A.8 No. of addresses since marriage	Present only			47	32	27	30	32
	Two addresses			20	27	40	44	36
	Three or more			33	41	33	26	32
A.9 Period spent in present house	Up to 5 years			20	41	20	30	28
	5-10 years			40	5	53	49	40
	Ten or more			40	54	27	21	32
A.10 Distance of residence from all-Irish school	1 mile or less			47	36	30	40	37
	1 to 3 miles			20	64	27	37	37
	3 miles or more			33	0	43	23	26
A.11 No. of years since child began attending all-Irish school	One or two			27	23	97	12	39
	Three years			7	13	3	25	15
	Four or more			66	64	0	63	46
A.12 Percentage of parents with all-Irish education	All-Irish Primary School	Both parents		0	5	3	5	4
		One parent		33	18	27	35	29
		Neither		67	77	70	61	67
	All-Irish Secondary School	Both parents		0	5	3	7	5
		One parent		27	27	33	40	34
		Neither		73	68	63	53	62
% of couples neither of whom ever studied Irish as more than a subject only in primary/secondary school				53	68	57	42	53
A.13 Joint parental speaking ability	Low: At best, one parent with middling ability		Pre-AIS	33	50	27	12	26
			Now	27	36	17	2	16
	Mid/Mix: Both middling or one high/one low		Pre-AIS	33	23	36	32	32
			Now	33	32	23	35	31
	High: At worst, one parent with middling ability		Pre-AIS	34	27	37	56	42
			Now	40	32	60	63	53
A.14 Pre-AIS Family use of Irish (for scores within brackets see Chapter Four)	Little or none (0)			86	86	90	58	76
	Moderate (1-3)			0	9	3	14	8
	High (4-7)			7	0	0	5	3
	Very high (8-11)			7	5	7	23	13
A.15 Husbands' use of Irish at work	Frequent			13	0	7	17	10
	Occasional			27	15	13	33	23
	None			60	85	80	50	67
A.16 Past attendance by parents at activities where Irish was used	Both parents			27	27	24	37	30
	One parent only			13	9	17	31	21
	Neither			60	64	59	32	49

APPENDIX B

Changes in Family Home Use and Joint Parental Speaking Ability since AIS participation
(Supplementary Table to Chapter Four)

HOME USE Pre → Now	JOINT PARENTAL ABILITY* Pre \ Now	Low	Mixed	High	Total
None ↔ None (No change N=30)	Low	21	-	2	23
	Mixed	-	2	-	2
	High	-	-	5	5
None → (1-3) (Increase N=37)	Low	18	-	2	20
	Mixed	-	3	2	5
	High	-	-	12	12
None → (4-11) (Increase N=12)	Low	2	-	1	3
	Mixed	-	1	3	4
	High	-	-	5	5
(1-3) ↔ (1-3) (No change N=7)	Low	1	1	-	2
	Mixed	-	1	-	1
	High	-	-	4	4
(1-3) → (4-11) (Increase N=2)	Low	-	-	-	-
	Mixed	-	-	-	-
	High	-	-	2	2
(4-7) → (8-11) (Increase N=3)	Low	-	-	-	-
	Mixed	-	-	-	-
	High	-	-	3	3
(8-11) ↔ (8-11) (No change N=14)	Low	-	-	-	-
	Mixed	-	-	1	1
	High	-	-	13	13
	Total	42	8	55	105

* The ability codes used in this table are given below but other equally valid break-off points can be used e.g., in Table 4.13, couples where both parents have middling ability have been added to those with "mixed" ability so as to give an adequate number of cases for analysis. Either way, the results move in the same direction from high to low and vice versa.

Low = At best, both parents with middling ability
Mixed = One high ability, spouse low ability
High = At worst, only one parent with middling ability

APPENDIX C

English Language version of Survey Questionnaire

INTRODUCTION

[Greeting] I am from Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann — the National Linguistics Institute. We are carrying out a survey of families with children at all-Irish schools to find out if this has had any effect on the other family members. As we are particularly interested in families who have had about 3 years or so experience of all-Irish schooling, we asked each of the 12 schools in the Dublin area for a list of all the families in the school falling into this category.

Your name was on this list.

The interview will last approximately one hour and it can be conducted either through Irish or English, whichever suits you best.

I can assure you that all of the answers will be treated in the strictest confidence by our Institute and nobody apart from the research team will ever see any questionnaire.

Incidentally, all names and addresses will be destroyed as soon as the interview has been marked up as 'completed' back at the office.

[This introduction will be in Irish]

[Each interviewer will have an ID card]

Confidential © Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann,

31 Fitzwilliam Place,
Dublin 2.

Card No. Schedule

1 [ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]

HOME BACKGROUND. First we would like to know a little about your early life.

1. WHAT YEAR WERE YOU BORN? _____ (not age)

OFFICE USE ONLY:

17-19 1	30-34 4	55-64 7
20-24 2	35-44 5	65+ 8
25-29 3	45-54 6	

[ ] 6

[Card A] 2. NOW, THINKING BACK TO WHEN YOU WERE IN SCHOOL, HOW DID YOUR MOTHER FEEL ABOUT THE IRISH LANGUAGE? AND YOUR FATHER? AND HOW DID YOU FEEL?

	Mother	Father	Self
strongly in favour	5	5	5
somewhat in favour	4	4	4
no particular feelings	3	3	3
somewhat opposed	2	2	2
strongly opposed	1	1	1

[ ][ ][ ] 7 8 9

3. (A) HOW FAR DID YOU GO IN SCHOOL? (B) AND YOUR SPOUSE?

	Self	Spouse
a. Some primary school.	1	1
b. Primary Certificate	2	2
c. Left Post-Primary without Cert . . .	3	3
d. Group or Inter Cert	4	4
e. Leaving Cert	5	5
f. Some Third level (no degree)	6	6
g. National Teacher	7	7
h. Bachelor's Degree or H. Dip.	8	8
i. Master's Degree or Higher	9	9
Other (specify)		

[ ][ ] 10 11

WAS THIS	Self	Spouse
a. Vocational School?	1	1
b. Secondary School?	2	2
c. Comprehensive	3	3

[ ][ ] 12 13

4. (A) WHEN YOU WERE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL, HOW MUCH IRISH DID YOU DO?
(B) AND IN POST-PRIMARY SCHOOL? (C) HOW ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND?

	Self		Spouse	
	Prim.	Post-P.	Prim.	Post-P.
a. No Irish at all	1	1	1	1
b. Irish as a subject only	2	2	2	2
c. Some subjects through Irish . . .	3	3	3	3
* d. All Irish	4	4	4	4

[ ][ ][ ][ ] 14 15 16 17

HOW WAS IRISH TAUGHT IN YOUR SCHOOLS?	Primary	Post-P
very well	1	1
fairly well	2	2
not too well	3	3
very poorly	4	4

[ ][ ] 18 19

* IF ALL-IRISH SCHOOL ABOVE ASK FOR NAME/ADDRESS

SELF (Prim.) _____
" (Post-P.) _____
SPOUSE (Prim.) _____
" (Post-P.) _____

[ ] 20
[ ] 21
[ ] 22
[ ] 23

5. WHEN YOU WERE IN SCHOOL DID YOU FIND IRISH EASY OR DIFFICULT?

	Primary	Post-Pr.
Easy	1	1
Difficult	2	2
N.A./No opinion . . .	3	3

24 25

6. WAS IRISH ONE OF YOUR BEST SUBJECTS WHEN YOU WERE AT SCHOOL OR ONE OF YOUR WORST?

	Primary			Post-Pr.		
	Yes	No	NA	Yes	No	NA
Irish was one of my best subjects	1	2	3	1	2	3
Irish was one of my worst subjects	1	2	3	1	2	3

26 28
27 29

7. DURING YOUR SCHOOL YEARS, DID YOU EVER SPEAK ANY IRISH AT ALL OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM?

No 2
Yes 1

30

Details: _____

8. WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP, HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY IRISH OR IRISH PHRASES WERE SPOKEN IN YOUR HOME BETWEEN YOUR

/CARD B/

	ALWAYS	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY	SELDOM	NEVER	
a. Mother and father	1	2	3	4	5	31
b. Mother and children	1	2	3	4	5	32
c. Father and children	1	2	3	4	5	33
d. Children with each other .	1	2	3	4	5	34
e. Parents with any relatives	1	2	3	4	5	35
f. Parents with any friends/ visitors	1	2	3	4	5	36
g. Any grandparents (with anyone in the house) . . .	1	2	3	4	5	37

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT WORK.

9. A WHAT WAS YOUR MAIN JOB BEFORE MARRIAGE? ____ H-J 38

B DO YOU CURRENTLY WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME? Yes 1. No 2 → To Q 10

IF YES, DETAILS: ____ H-J 39

IS IT FULL-TIME (1) OR PART-TIME (2)? 40

IN YOUR OWN WORK DO YOU EVER	Often	Sometimes	Never	N.A.	
a) Speak Irish while at work? . . .	1	2	3	4	41
b) Hear Irish spoken while at work?	1	2	3	4	42

10. WHEN DID YOU MARRY? 19__ year. IS YOUR HUSBAND STILL ALIVE?

Yes 1. No 2. When did he die? ____

No. yrs. married 43

44 No. yrs. widowed

11. WHAT IS YOUR HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION? (If deceased or unemployed, his last MAIN occupation).

A ____ (exact title)

B ____ (type of work) 45 H-J

DOES SPOUSE OWN OWN BUSINESS OR FARM? No 1.

YES, OWNS OWN BUSINESS		YES, OWNS OWN FARM	
HOW MANY EMPLOYEES HAS HE?		HOW MANY ACRES HAS HE?	
none	2	under 5 acres (statute)	2
1-5 employees	3	5-14 acres	3
6-10 "	4	15-29 "	4
11-20 "	5	30-49 "	5
21-50 "	6	50-100 "	6
over 50 "	7	100 or more	7

WOULD YOU HAVE ANY IDEA OF YOUR HUSBAND'S USE OF IRISH AT WORK?

Frequently 1. Occasionally 2. Never 3. D.K. 4. 46

12. HAVE YOU EVER LIVED OUTSIDE IRELAND (apart from holidays)?

Yes 1. No 2. 47

FOR HOW LONG? ____ 48

WERE YOU MARRIED AT THE TIME? Yes 1. No 2. 49

(1°

13. HOW LONG ARE YOU LIVING IN THIS HOUSE?

Less than 6 months	1
6 months - 1 year	2
1 - 2 years	3
2 - 3 "	4
3 - 4 "	5
4 - 5 "	6
5 - 10 "	7
10 years or more	8

50

14. (a) WHERE DID YOU LIVE IMMEDIATELY BEFORE YOU GOT MARRIED?

(even if only for a few months)

(b) HOW ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND?

(even if only for a few months)

No. Addresses

51

(c) WHERE HAVE YOU LIVED SINCE YOU'VE BEEN MARRIED?

1st post-marriage
2nd "
3rd "
4th "
5th "
6th "
7th "
8th "
9th "
10th "

15. IF YOU WERE GOING TO MOVE HOUSE TO ANOTHER AREA WOULD YOU TAKE (a) THE LOCATION OF AN AIS and (b) THE PRESENCE OF IRISH SPEAKING NEIGHBOURS INTO ACCOUNT?

	Self		Spouse		Anyone else?		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Details
The location of an AIS	1	2	1	2	1	2	
The presence of Irish-speaking neighbours	1	2	1	2	1	2	

52 54 56
53 55 57

B DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO HAS MOVED FOR ANY OF THESE REASONS?

C WOULD YOU/YOUR HUSBAND MOVE TO ANOTHER AREA IF THERE WAS NO AIS THERE? Yes 1. No 2. D.K. 3.

58

15. I would like to know your attitudes (and those of your husband) to Irish in general, towards rearing your own children through Irish and towards sending your children to all-Irish schools.

CARD 'C'

		Strongly in favour	Somewhat in favour	No particular feelings	Somewhat opposed	Strongly opposed	
Your own attitude towards the Irish language generally	Before you met your husband	5	4	3	2	1	59
	Before your 1st child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	60
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	61
Your husband's attitude	Before your 1st child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	62
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	63
Your own attitude towards your children having all-Irish education	Before you met your husband	5	4	3	2	1	64
	Before your 1st child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	65
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	66
Your husband's attitude	Before your first child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	67
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	68
Your own attitude to rearing your children at home through Irish	Before you met your husband	5	4	3	2	1	69
	Before your 1st child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	70
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	71
Your husband's attitude	Before your first child began at AIS	5	4	3	2	1	72
	Now	5	4	3	2	1	73

(2)

2

17. Who first thought of/suggested sending your child to an all-Irish school? Was it your

Self 1
Husband 2
Child(ren) 3
Other 4 Specify: _____

6

18. WERE THERE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND REGARDING THE DESIRABILITY IN PRINCIPLE OF ALL IRISH EDUCATION FOR YOUR FAMILY?
Yes 1. No 2.

7

19. What were the main arguments used in the course of deciding on an all-Irish education for your child?

8

20. (A) What were the arguments used - pro and con - in choosing the actual school itself? [read down list - tick all options]. Write 'CON' where applicable in left margin.

		"USED"	"CRUNCH"	
01.	Accessibility			9
02.	Physical Facilities			10
03.	Pupil-teacher ratios			11
04.	Committment of teachers			12
05.	School's educational record (good results etc.)			13
06.	School's general reputation or status in the community			14
07.	The Gaelic/Irish "atmosphere"/"culture" prevailing in the AIS			15
08.	The Nationalist/Republican tradition ensured			16
09.	The Language properly taught and its future thus ensured			17
10.	Children's wishes			18
11.	Children's level of Irish at the time			19
12.	Good grounding in Irish for secondary school			20
13.	Parental ability to assist child with Irish homework etc.			21
	Other			22

(B) What was the "Crunch Factor" which decided you both? Tick one only

Crunch 23 24 in left margin

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

21. (A) DID YOU OR YOUR HUSBAND CONSULT ANYONE ELSE ABOUT THIS DECISION? [Refers to AI Ed. & AIS]

Yes 1. No 2. go to Q. 22

25. ☐

	Read list - tick all options	Tick (✓)	Greatest influence	
01.	Your child(ren)			26. ☐
02.	The (Parish) priest			27. ☐
03.	The (Head) teacher(s) in the AIS			28. ☐
04.	The (Head) teacher(s) in the local English-medium school			29. ☐
05.	Parents with children at an AIS			30. ☐
06.	Parents with children at the AIS which you chose			31. ☐
07.	Irish-speaking friends with no children at an AIS			32. ☐
08.	Non-Irish speaking friends with no children at an AIS			33. ☐
09.	Relatives whose children attend(ed) an AIS			34. ☐
10.	Relatives whose children have never attended an AIS			35. ☐
	Other (specify) _____			36. ☐

(B) WHICH OF THESE HAD THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON YOUR DECISION? [Tick one only].

"Greatest" ☐☐ 37. 38.

22. WERE BOTH PARENTS FULLY AGREED THAT THIS WAS THE BEST COURSE TO TAKE BY THE TIME THE FIRST CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS? Yes 1. No 2. 39. ☐

IF NO: Who was still dissatisfied? Self 1. Spouse 2. Both 3. 40. ☐

23. HAVE YOU OR YOUR HUSBAND OR YOUR CHILDREN EVER SERIOUSLY REGRETTED THIS DECISION? Yes 1. No 2. 41. ☐

Details: _____ ☐☐ 42. 43.

(2)

24. HOW LONG AFTER YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND AGREED TO THE CHOICE OF AN ALL-IRISH EDUCATION DID YOU ACTUALLY SEND YOUR FIRST CHILD TO AN AIS? _____ ☐ 44

25. DID YOU REMOVE HIM/HER FROM AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING SCHOOL TO SEND HIM/HER TO AN AIS? No 2. Yes 1.→ which school(s) and why? ☐ 45

Schools: _____

26. HAVE YOU AT ANY STAGE MOVED ANY OF YOUR CHILDREN FROM ONE ALL-IRISH SCHOOL TO ANOTHER? No 2. Yes 1. - which school(s) and why? ☐ 46

Schools : _____ 47 48

Reason(s): _____ 49 50

27. WHAT YEAR DID YOU FIRST SEND YOUR CHILD TO AN ALL-IRISH SCHOOL? 19 __ year. ☐ 51

AND WHAT MONTH WAS THAT? _____ month.

28. HOW MANY CHILDREN HAVE YOU? _____ WHAT ARE THEIR AGES, BEGINNING WITH THE ELDEST? (Perhaps it would help to go through them by name). - 2 lines per child

DO/DID/WILL ANY OF THEM ATTEND A NURSERY OR PRE-SCHOOL? Yes 1. No 2. IF YES: which school and where was it?

HOW MUCH OF THE TEACHING WAS THROUGH IRISH? (Card D)

Same questions for primary (Yes 1. No 2.) and second level (Yes 1. No 2.).

Codes for Column A
1 - Presently attending
2 - Past attendance
3 - Future intention

Codes for Column B
1 - All-Irish school
2 - Most subjects taught through Irish
3 - 50/50
4 - Most subjects taught through English
5 - All subjects (except Irish) taught through English
6 - Don't know/not sure

CHILD		NURSERY/PRE-SCHOOL									PRIMARY SCHOOL (incl. infant classes)								SECONDARY/VOCATIONAL							
NAME AND/OR SEX	AGE NOW	NAME & ADDRESS OF NURSERY/ PRE-SCHOOL	Col. A When?	AMOUNT OF IRISH Irish All	Most	50/50	English Most	All?			NAME & DISTRICT of Primary School	Col. A When?	AMOUNT OF IRISH Irish All	Most	50/50	English Most	All?		NAME & DISTRICT of Sec./Voc. School	Col. A When?	AMOUNT OF IRISH Irish All	Most	50/50	English Most	All?	
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6			1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6		1 2 3	1	2	3	4	5	6

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(2°)

29. IF ANY CHILD HAS ATTENDED A NON ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOL UP TILL NOW /same question for Second Level/, WHY NOT AN ALL-IRISH ONE?

/PROMPT/	Primary	Post-Prim.
N.A. (doesn't/didn't/won't attend English either etc.)	1	1
Did not know of one (at the time)	2	2
AIS not easily accessible/English more accessible	3	3
No room in the AIS	4	4
Child hadn't sufficient Irish to enter AIS	5	5
Child's peer-group influences	6	6
Ghetto mentality associated with AIS	7	7

Other (specify)

51 53

30. CAN YOU FORESEE ANY OF YOUR CHILDREN NOT ATTENDING AN ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE FUTURE? Yes 1. No 2.

HOW ABOUT SECOND-LEVEL EDUCATION? Yes 1. No 2.

IF YES TO EITHER, WHY? _____

54 55

31. HOW IMPORTANT IN GENERAL DO YOU THINK PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION THROUGH IRISH (nurseries, playgroups, etc.) IS FOR PARENTS CONTEMPLATING SENDING THEIR CHILD TO AN ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOL?

Very important 3

Not very important 2

Not important at all ..1

56

32. ABOUT HOW FAR ARE YOU FROM THE A.I.S.? _____ miles

57 58

33. HOW LONG WOULD THE JOURNEY NORMALLY TAKE BY

a) car b) bus c) bike d) foot

59 60 61 62

34. HOW DO THE CHILDREN NORMALLY TRAVEL TO THE AIS? (Take all mentions)

	Car?	Bus?	Bike?	Walk?
Yes	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2

63 64 65 66

IS THIS CAR DRIVEN BY A MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY? Yes 1. No 2. NA 3.

67

35. HOW DO THE CHILDREN NORMALLY COME HOME FROM SCHOOL?

	Car?	Bus?	Bike?	Walk?
Yes	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2

68 69 70 71

3

36. BEFORE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS, HOW OFTEN DID ANYONE IN YOUR HOME SPEAK IRISH? CARD E	All of the time 1	Most of the time 2	50/50 3	Some of the time 4	Odd phrase 5	Never 6	
(A) HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY IRISH (as opposed to English) WAS USED BETWEEN:							
a. Self and husband	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Self and children	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
c. Husband & children	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
d. Children with each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
e. By friends/visitors/ relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
(B) HOW OFTEN WAS IRISH USED BY EITHER PARENT WITH THE CHILD(REN)							
a. At mealtimes	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
b. Helping children with homework	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
c. Reading or telling stories to children	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
d. Playing with the children	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
e. At family prayer, church	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
f. Doing housework, gardening etc. with children	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
g. While watching television/listening to radio	1	2	3	4	5	6	18

37. SINCE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS, HOW OFTEN DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSE SPEAK IRISH?	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
(A) HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY IRISH (as opposed to English) IS USED BETWEEN:							
a. Self and husband	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
b. Self and kids - AIS	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
Self and kids - Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
c. Husband & kids - AIS	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
Husband & kids - Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
d. Kids with each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	
e. By friends/visitors/	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
(B) HOW OFTEN IS IRISH USED BY EITHER PARENT WITH THE CHILD(REN):							
a. At mealtimes	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
b. Helping children with homework	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
c. Reading or telling stories to children	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
d. Playing with the children	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
e. At family prayer, church	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
f. Doing housework, gardening etc. with children	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
g. While watching tv/ listening to radio	1	2	3	4	5	6	32

38. IN GENERAL THEN, WOULD YOU SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL INCREASE OR A GENERAL DECLINE IN THE FREQUENCY OF USE IN YOUR HOME SINCE YOUR 1st CHILD BEGAN ATTENDING AT THE ALL-IRISH SCHOOL?

No change 1 → go to Q.39 — 33
Increase 2
Decrease 3

IS THIS INCREASE/DECREASE DUE PRIMARILY TO YOUR CHILD'S ATTENDANCE AT THE ALL IRISH SCHOOL? Yes 1. No 2. D.K. 3. — 34

IF NO: to what is it due? _____ — 35 36

39. (i) WHEN YOU SPEAK IRISH WITH (a) YOUR CHILD(REN) NOW ATTENDING AIS AND (b) WITH ANY OTHER CHILDREN, WHO NORMALLY SPEAKS IRISH FIRST?

	Yourself	Child(ren)	Reciprocal	NA (neither)	
a) AIS children	1	2	3	4	37
b) Other children	1	2	3	4	38

(ii) AND YOUR HUSBAND?

	Himself	Child(ren)	Reciprocal	NA (neither)	
a) AIS children	1	2	3	4	39
b) Other children	1	2	3	4	40

(iii) IS THIS SITUATION DIFFERENT FROM THE SITUATION BEFORE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS? Yes 1. No 2. — 41

DETAILS: _____ — 42 43

40. APART FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH THE CHILDREN HAS THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THE USE OF IRISH BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND SINCE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS?

Yes 1. — No 2. → Q.41 — 44

What kind of change: _____ — 45 46

What was the main cause of this change? _____

41. HOW OFTEN DO (a) YOU (b) YOUR HUSBAND (c) YOUR CHILDREN WATCH OR LISTEN TO PROGRAMMES IN IRISH?

CARD F

	Self	Spouse	Children	
More than once a week	5	5	5	47 48 49
At least once a week	4	4	4	
At least once a month	3	3	3	
A few times a year	2	2	2	
Never	1	1	1	

/ ....

3.

42. WOULD YOU SAY THAT RADIO OR TELEVISION PROGRAMMES IN IRISH ARE WATCHED/LISTENED TO MORE FREQUENTLY NOW THAN THEY WERE BEFORE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT AIS? Yes 1. No 2. [ ] 50

43. WOULD YOU SAY THAT BOOKS, RECORDS ETC. IN IRISH ARE USED MORE FREQUENTLY IN YOUR HOME NOW THAN THEY WERE BEFORE YOUR CHILD BEGAN AT THE AIS? Yes 1. No 2. [ ] 51

44. IF THERE WERE MORE (a) RADIO/TELEVISION PROGRAMMES, (b) READING MATERIAL AND (c) RECORDS AVAILABLE IN IRISH DO YOU THINK THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO A GREATER USE OF IRISH IN YOUR HOME?

Radio/Television	Yes 1.	No 2.	[ ] 52
Reading material	Yes 1.	No 2.	[ ] 53
Records	Yes 1.	No 2.	[ ] 54

45. WHAT WOULD YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO INCREASING THE USE OF IRISH IN YOUR HOME?

[ ][ ] 55 56

46. WHAT PROPORTION OF YOUR AIS CHILDREN'S REGULAR (local) PLAYMATES AFTER SCHOOL HOURS ARE ALSO ATTENDING THE SCHOOL?

CARD G

	N.A.	All	Most	50/50	Some	None	
In general	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 57
Eldest child at AIS	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 58
2nd eldest child at AIS	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 59
3rd " " " "	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 60
4th " " " "	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 61
5th	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 62

WOULD YOU HAVE ANY IDEA AS TO THE AMOUNT OF IRISH THEY WOULD NORMALLY USE WHEN PLAYING TOGETHER?

	N.A.	All	Most	50/50	Some	None	
In general	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 63
Eldest child at AIS	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 64
2nd eldest child at AIS	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 65
3rd " " " "	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 66
4th " " " "	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 67
5th or more " "	6	5	4	3	2	1	[ ] 68

WHY IS THEIR USAGE SO LOW?

	In general	Eldest at AIS	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
Not applicable	1	1	1	1	1	1	[ ] 69
Inadequate Irish - self	2	2	2	2	2	2	[ ] 70
" " - friend(s)	3	3	3	3	3	3	[ ] 71
Embarrassment - self	4	4	4	4	4	4	[ ] 72
Embarrassment - friend(s)	5	5	5	5	5	5	[ ] 73
Other (specify)	6	6	6	6	6	6	[ ] 74

47. How often do you and/or your spouse visit the school for the following purposes? What part do you/your spouse play in the proceedings? What language is normally used on these occasions? Do you find any difficulty following the proceedings through Irish?

TYPE OF ACTIVITY — FULLEST DETAILS	ATTENDED BY	FREQUENCY								LANGUAGE NORMALLY USED					DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY EXPERIENCED		
		Daily	More than once week	Weekly	Once a fortnight	Monthly	Few times yearly	Very rarely	Never	All Ir.	Most Ir.	50/50	Most Eng.	All Eng.	None	Some	A lot
To deposit or collect kids	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
To check on kids' progress	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
To help out or view kids' concerts etc.	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Attendance at school-connected seetings e.g. fundraising (specify)	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Irish-language classes	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Other adult classes e.g. French	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Non-school-connected activities using school buildings e.g. knitting, St. V. de P.	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Other (specify)	Self only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Spouse only	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
	Self & Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

5 | | | |

48. WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE SCHOOL* IS MORE OR LESS THAN THE AVERAGE FOR THE OTHER PARENTS WITH CHILDREN THERE?

Self . . . . . More 3. Average 2. Less 1. [ ] 6

AND YOUR HUSBAND? . More 3. Average 2. Less 1. [ ] 7

49. WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR OVERALL FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH THE SCHOOL IS MORE OR LESS THAN THAT OF YOUR HUSBAND (i.e. leaving aside depositing or collecting the child at or from the school?)

My involvement is More 3 The same 2 Less 1 than that of my spouse. [ ] 8

IF MORE/LESS, WHY IS THIS? [MAIN REASON]

Domestic/work arrangements	1
One is more interested that the other	2
Different (perceived) ability levels	3
Don't get on well with certain personalities	4
Other (specify) _____	

[ ] 9

50. LOOKING BACK OVER THE TIME YOU HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH YOUR CHILD'S AIS* WOULD YOU SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE OR A DECREASE IN YOUR CONTACT WITH

	Increase	No change	Decrease	
a. the school during that time	3	2	1	[ ] 10
b. other AIS families (your own AIS)	3	2	1	[ ] 11

IF DECREASE, HOW/WHY? [ ][ ] 12 13

51. HAVE EITHER YOU OR YOUR HUSBAND VISITED THE GAELTACHT IN THE PAST 3 OR 4 YEARS? Self only 1. Spouse only 2. Both 3. Neither 4 [ ] 14

IF YES, WAS THIS RELATED TO YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN ALL-IRISH EDUCATION?

Yes 1. No 2. Details: [ ] 15

52. APART FROM SCHOOL-BASED ACTIVITIES, DO EITHER YOU OR YOUR HUSBAND GO TO ANY ACTIVITIES WHERE IRISH IS USED?
DID YOU IN THE PAST?

	NOW			PAST		
	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
Self	1	2	3	1	2	3
Spouse	1	2	3	1	2	3

16 17 [ ][ ] 18 19

* Apart from depositing or collecting kids.

53. (A) Are there any occasions (apart from home and school visits) when you and/or your husband would meet Irish speakers? Yes 1. No 2.

DETAILS	By chance	Pre-Arranged	Both	Organised	Unorganised	Both	LANGUAGE NORMALLY USED: IRISH All	IRISH Most	50/50	ENGLISH Most	ENGLISH All	FREQUENCY: Daily	Weekly (2/3 a week)	Monthly (fortnightly)	Rarely (few a year)	Never
Street/shopping/bus-stop	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Recreation activities	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Church/Parish- related	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Work-related (after hours)	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Other (specify)	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(B) Are these meetings normally by chance or pre-arranged?
(C) Are they organised or unorganised?
(D) What language is normally used at these meetings?
(E) How often would these meetings normally take place?

54. What is the most common bond (apart from personality factors) holding you and your husband's Irish-speaking friends together?

	Self	Spouse	Both	DETAILS
School	1	1	1	
Language	2	2	2	
Recreation	3	3	3	
Work-related	4	4	4	
Physical proximity	5	5	5	
Other				

55. WAS IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE NEW FRIENDS WHEN YOU FIRST CAME TO THIS AREA? Yes 1. No 2. N.A. 3. [ ] 43

Details if suggested: _____

56. HOW DID YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE MEET MOST OF YOUR NEW IRISH-SPEAKING FRIENDS AFTER YOU CAME TO THIS AREA? READ DOWN LIST

	GOING TO/AT/THROUGH	SELF Yes	SELF No	SPOUSE Yes	SPOUSE No	DETAILS	
	N.A.	1	2	1	2		44 [ ] [ ] 45
01	Shops	1	2	1	2		46 [ ] [ ] 47
02	Church/local priest etc.	1	2	1	2		48 [ ] [ ] 49
03	Church-parish groups	1	2	1	2		50 [ ] [ ] 51
04	Sporting activities	1	2	1	2		52 [ ] [ ] 53
05	Pubs	1	2	1	2		54 [ ] [ ] 55
06	Purely Irish-language activities	1	2	1	2		56 [ ] [ ] 57
07	Other cultural activities	1	2	1	2		58 [ ] [ ] 59
08	Work	1	2	1	2		60 [ ] [ ] 61
09	School	1	2	1	2		62 [ ] [ ] 63
10	Previous contacts (through)	1	2	1	2		64 [ ] [ ] 65
11	Relations (through)	1	2	1	2		66 [ ] [ ] 67
	Other (specify)	1	2	1	2		68 [ ] [ ] 69

57. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES OF IRISH SPEAKERS FORMS THE GREATEST PROPORTION OF (a) YOUR CLOSEST* FRIENDS? (b) HOW ABOUT THOSE OF YOUR HUSBAND, AS WELL AS (c) YOUR COMMON FRIENDS, (d) THOSE OF YOUR ELDEST CHILD AND OF (e) YOUR FIRST CHILD TO ATTEND AN AIS?

CARD H	(a) Self	(b) Spouse	(c) Both	(d) Eldest child	(e) 1st AIS child	
Have good Irish and use it often	1	1	1	1	1	[ ] 70
Have good Irish and use it rarely	2	2	2	2	2	[ ] 71
Have good Irish and never use it	3	3	3	3	3	[ ] 72
Have middling Irish and use it often	4	4	4	4	4	[ ] 73
Have middling Irish and use it rarely	5	5	5	5	5	[ ] 74
Have middling Irish and never use it	6	6	6	6	6	
Have very little Irish and use it often	7	7	7	7	7	
Have very little Irish and use it rarely	8	8	8	8	8	
Have very little Irish and never use it	9	9	9	9	9	
Have no Irish	0	0	0	0	0	

* CLOSEST FRIENDS = regularly met

6 [ ] [ ] [ ] .

58. DO YOU GENERALLY MEET YOUR IRISH-SPEAKING FRIENDS MORE OFTEN THAN YOUR OTHER CLOSE FRIENDS? Yes 1. No 2. NA 3. [ ] 6

59. HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU, YOUR SPOUSE OR YOUR CHILDREN VISIT OTHER HOMES AND SPEAK IRISH EXCLUSIVELY OR ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WHILE THERE?

[or vice versa - they visit you]

	Self	Spouse	Both	Eldest child	1st AIS child
Daily	1	1	1	1	1
More than once a week	2	2	2	2	2
Once a week	3	3	3	3	3
Once a fortnight	4	4	4	4	4
Once a month	5	5	5	5	5
A few times a year	6	6	6	6	6
Very rarely	7	7	7	7	7
Never	8	8	8	8	8
Not applicable	9	9	9	9	9

[ ] 7
[ ] 8
[ ] 9
[ ] 10
[ ] 11

60. WOULD YOU SAY THAT APART FROM VISITS TO THE SCHOOL YOU AND/OR YOUR SPOUSE MEET MORE IRISH SPEAKERS NOW THAT YOU WOULD HAD YOUR CHILD NOT ATTENDED THE ALL-IRISH SCHOOL?

Self: Yes 1. No 2. D.K. 3. Spouse: Yes 1. No 2. D.K. 3.

12 13 [ ] [ ]

61. A HAS THIS CONTACT IMPROVED (a) YOUR GENERAL ABILITY AND (b) YOUR GENERAL USE OF IRISH?

B HOW ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND?

	Self			Spouse		
	Yes	No	D.K.	Yes	No	D.K.
General Ability Level	1	2	3	1	2	3
General Use Level	1	2	3	1	2	3

14 15 [ ] [ ]
16 17 [ ] [ ]

62. HAVE YOU AT ANY STAGE SOUGHT TO INTEREST ANY OF YOUR FRIENDS OR RELATIONS IN ALL-IRISH EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN?

Yes 1. No 2. → Q.63 [ ] 18

Did you meet with any success? Yes 1. No 2. D.K. 3. N.A. 4. [ ] 19

Who was involved and how did you go about it? Details:-

63. HAVE YOU INTRODUCED ANY OF YOUR FRIENDS NOT CONNECTED WITH THE AIS TO PEOPLE WHO ARE CONNECTED WITH THE SCHOOL? YES 1. NO 2. [ ] 20

IF YES: details: _____

(who, how many, how, into what, etc.)

64. PLEASE RATE QUICKLY THE ABILITY OF THE FOLLOWING TO SPEAK AND TO UNDERSTAND IRISH

INTERVIEWER: circle one number only in each column. HAND RESPONDENT CARD I

UNDG - Understanding SPKG - Speaking	YOUR OWN ABILITY						SPOUSE'S ABILITY				Ability of 1st child to attend AIS		Only or eldest child's ability		Youngest child's ability (if it can talk at all)	
	Before you met your spouse		Before your 1st A.S child		Now		Before your 1st AIS child		Now							
	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG	UNDG	SPKG
1. NO IRISH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. THE ODD WORD	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. FEW SIMPLE SENTENCES	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. PARTS OF CONVERSATIONS	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. MOST CONVERSATIONS	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. NATIVE SPEAKER ABILITY	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7. DON'T KNOW	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8. NOT APPLICABLE	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36

178

179

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

65. (A) IF EVERYONE IN IRELAND COULD SPEAK IRISH AND ENGLISH EQUALLY WELL, WHICH WOULD YOU PREFER: TO SPEAK ENGLISH ONLY, IRISH ONLY, OR BOTH?

English only 1
Irish only 5

37

(B) IF BOTH: ( ): WOULD YOU LIKE TO SPEAK IRISH MORE, LESS OR AS MUCH AS ENGLISH?

Irish less 2
as much 3
Irish more 4

66. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD APPLY TO YOU?

	Yes	?	No	
I am committed to using Irish as much as I can	1	2	3	38
I wish I could use the Irish I know more often	1	2	3	39
People in my circle just don't use Irish at all	1	2	3	40
I will always speak Irish if spoken to in Irish	1	2	3	41
I do not like people speaking in Irish when others are present who do not know Irish	1	2	3	42
I do not like to speak Irish with people who may know it better than I do	1	2	3	43
I do not like to begin a conversation in Irish	1	2	3	44
I will sometimes speak in Irish if spoken to in Irish	1	2	3	45

67. NOW, FINALLY, HERE ARE SOME STATEMENTS ABOUT ALL-IRISH SCHOOLS. I'LL READ THEM OUT FOR YOU. PLEASE TELL ME WHICH OPINION ON THIS CARD IS CLOSEST TO YOUR OWN. [CARD J7]

	AGREE				DISAGREE	
	Strong	Mild	?	Mild	Strong	
My child cannot keep up with the level of Irish expected in the AIS	5	4	3	2	1	46
My child's English is suffering through over-exposure to Irish in the AIS	5	4	3	2	1	47
Were it not for the fact of our child being at the AIS, there would be little or no Irish being spoken in this house	5	4	3	2	1	48
Primary AISs are a waste of time if there are not sufficient 2nd level AISs	5	4	3	2	1	49
My child's attendance at the AIS has opened up a whole new world for me	5	4	3	2	1	50
The AIS has become one of my main preoccupations outside the home	5	4	3	2	1	51
Most parents do not have the Irish language as their primary concern in sending their children to my child's AIS	5	4	3	2	1	52

END

APPENDIX D

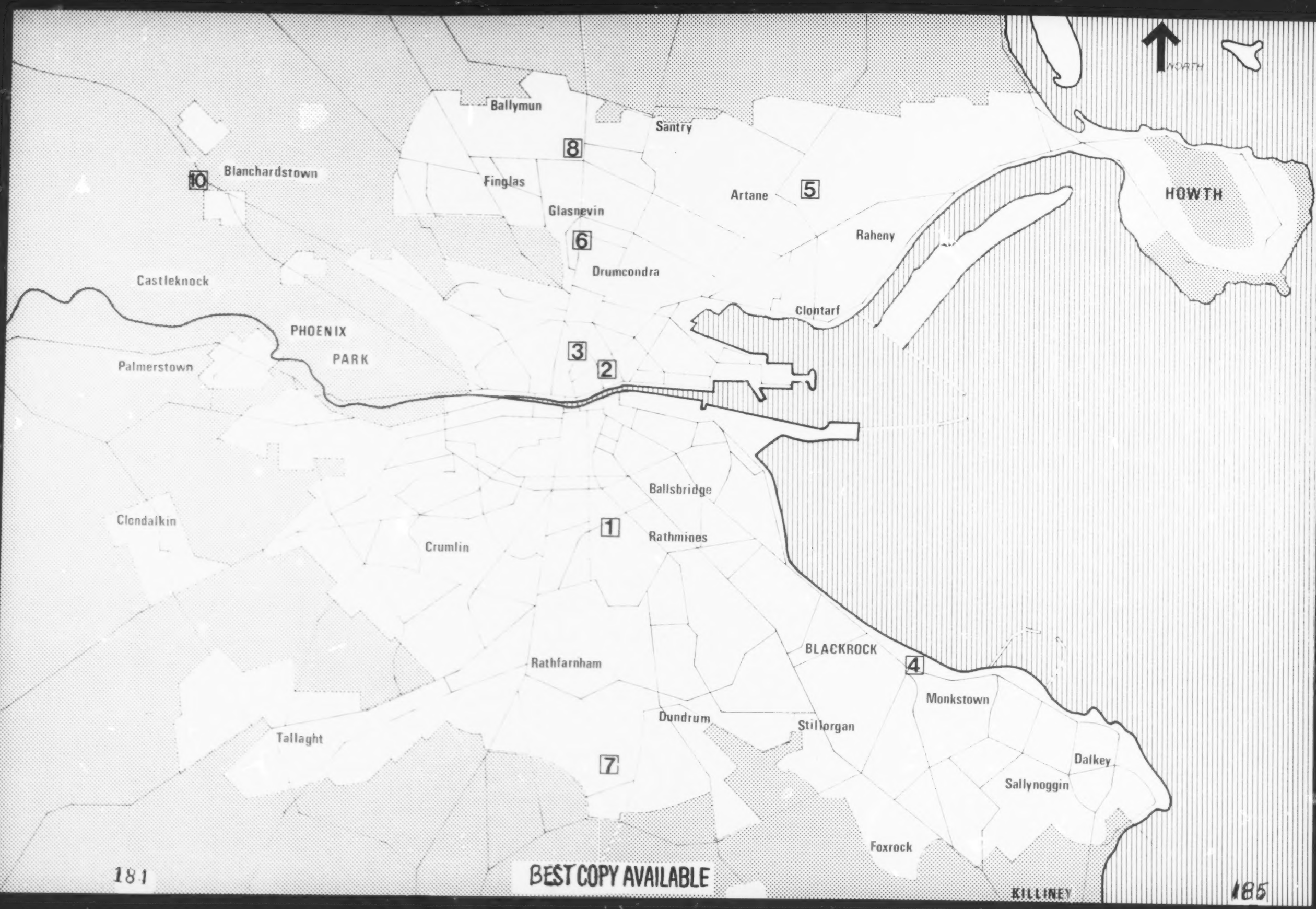
DISTRIBUTION MAPS OF ALL-IRISH SCHOOL FAMILIES

Map A

map A

1. S. Bhrîde
2. S. Cholmcille/Mhuire/ na Naíonán
3. S. Ullmhúcháin
4. S. Lorcáin
5. S. Neasáin
6. S. Mhoibhi
7. S. Naithí
8. S. Seachtar Laoch
10. S. Oilibhéar

LOCATION OF ALL-IRISH SCHOOLS



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Map B

map B

▲ S. Lorcáin

□ S. Neasáin

○ S. Naithí

● S. Seachtar Laoch

* S. Oilibhéar

OUTER SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

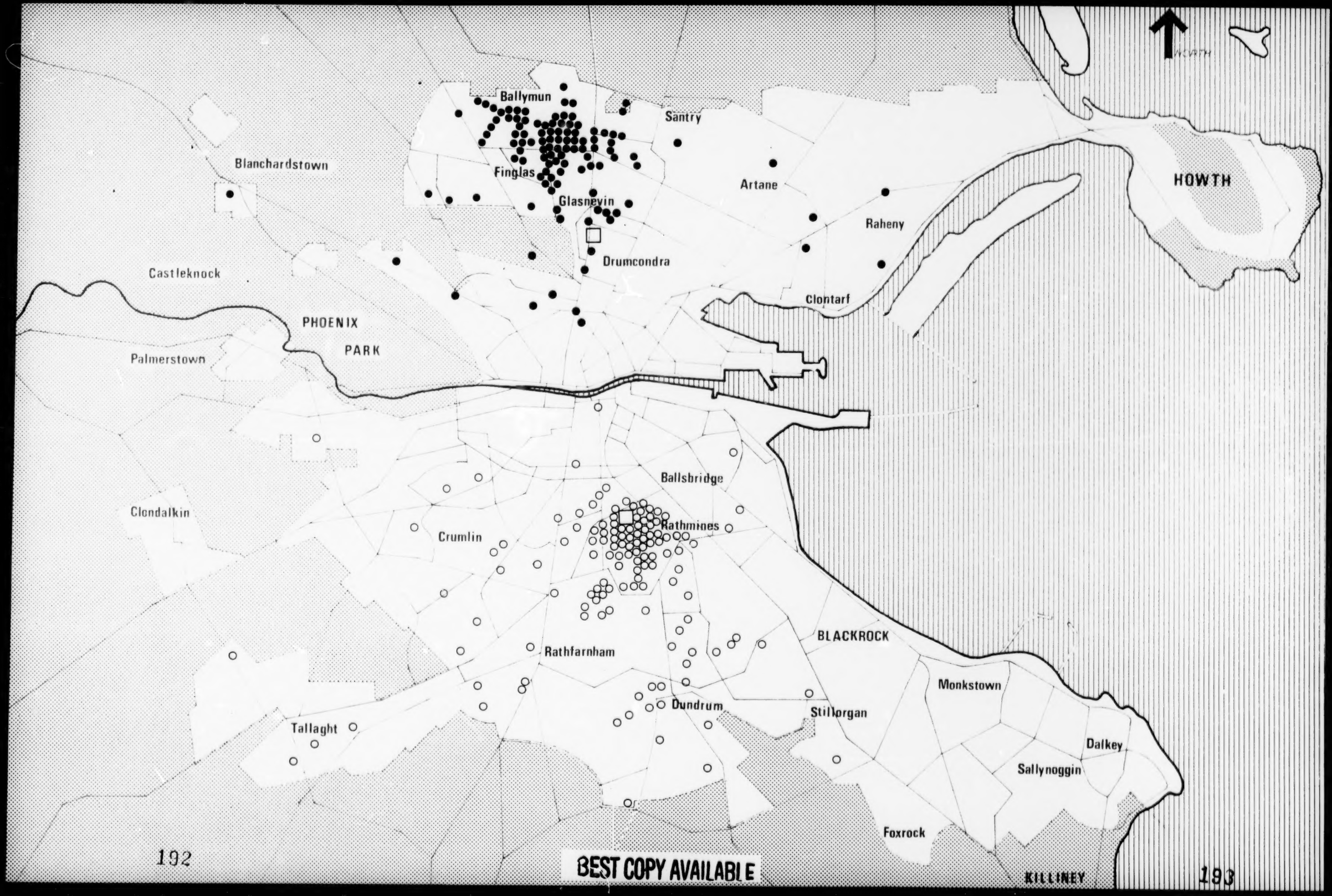
Map C

map C

○ S Bhrīdè

● S Mhoibhī

INNER SUBURBAN SCHOOLS



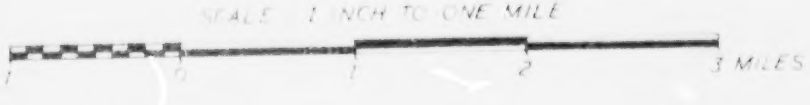
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Map D

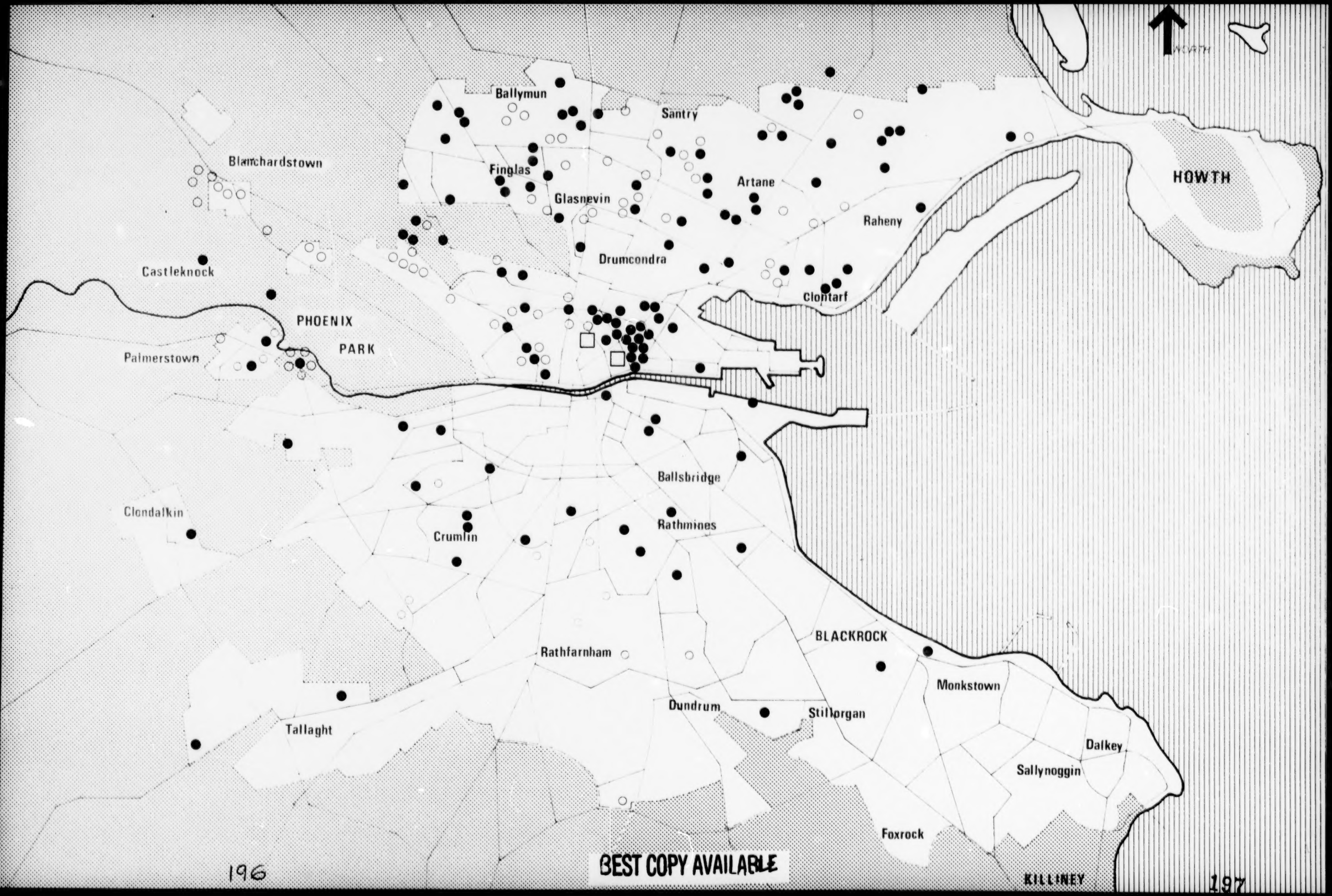
map D

○ S Ullmhūchāin

● S Cholmcille / Mhuire / na Naīonān



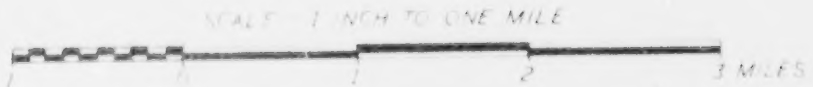
CENTRAL CITY SCHOOLS



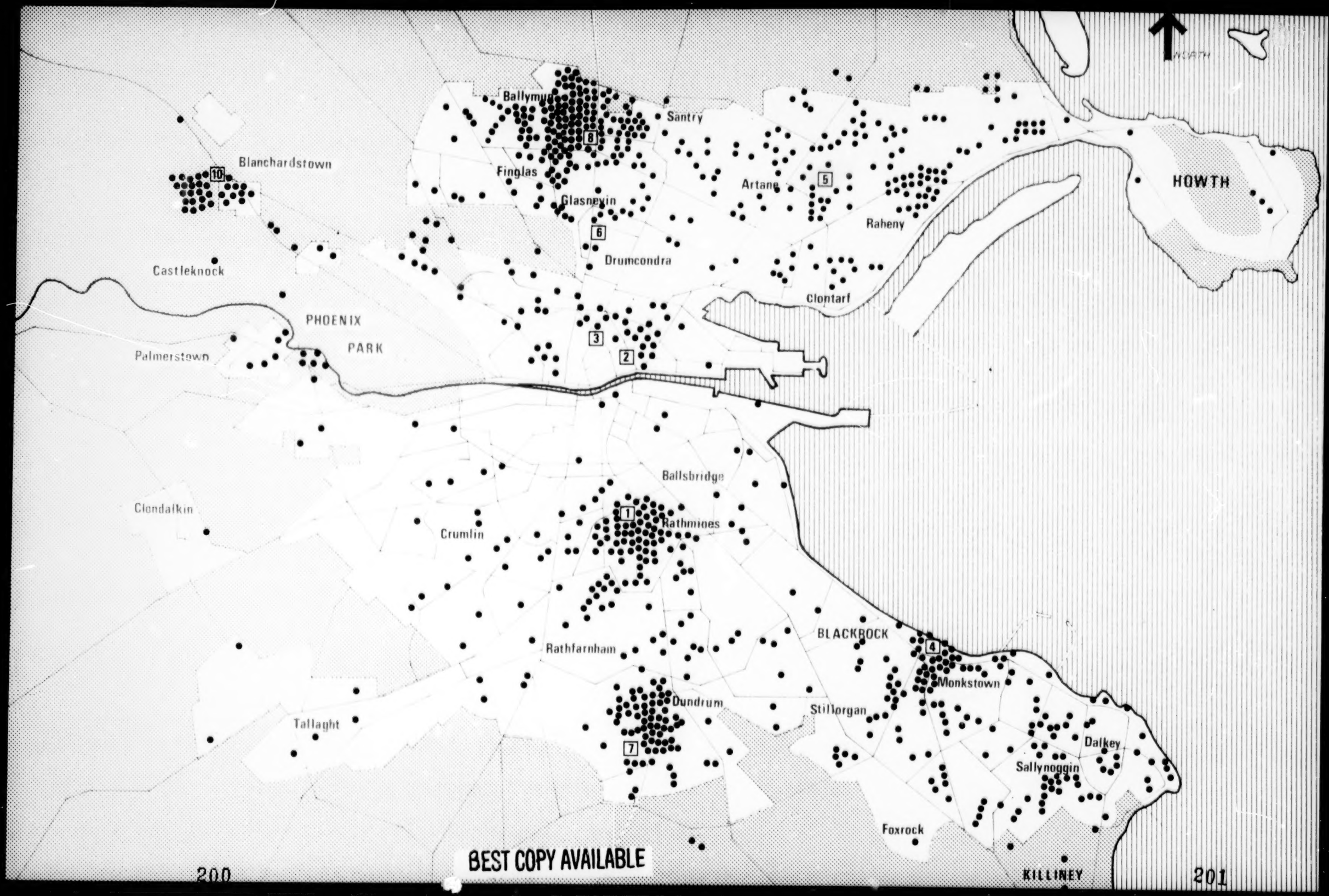
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Map E

map E



OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN AT ALL-IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS



BEST COPY AVAILABLE